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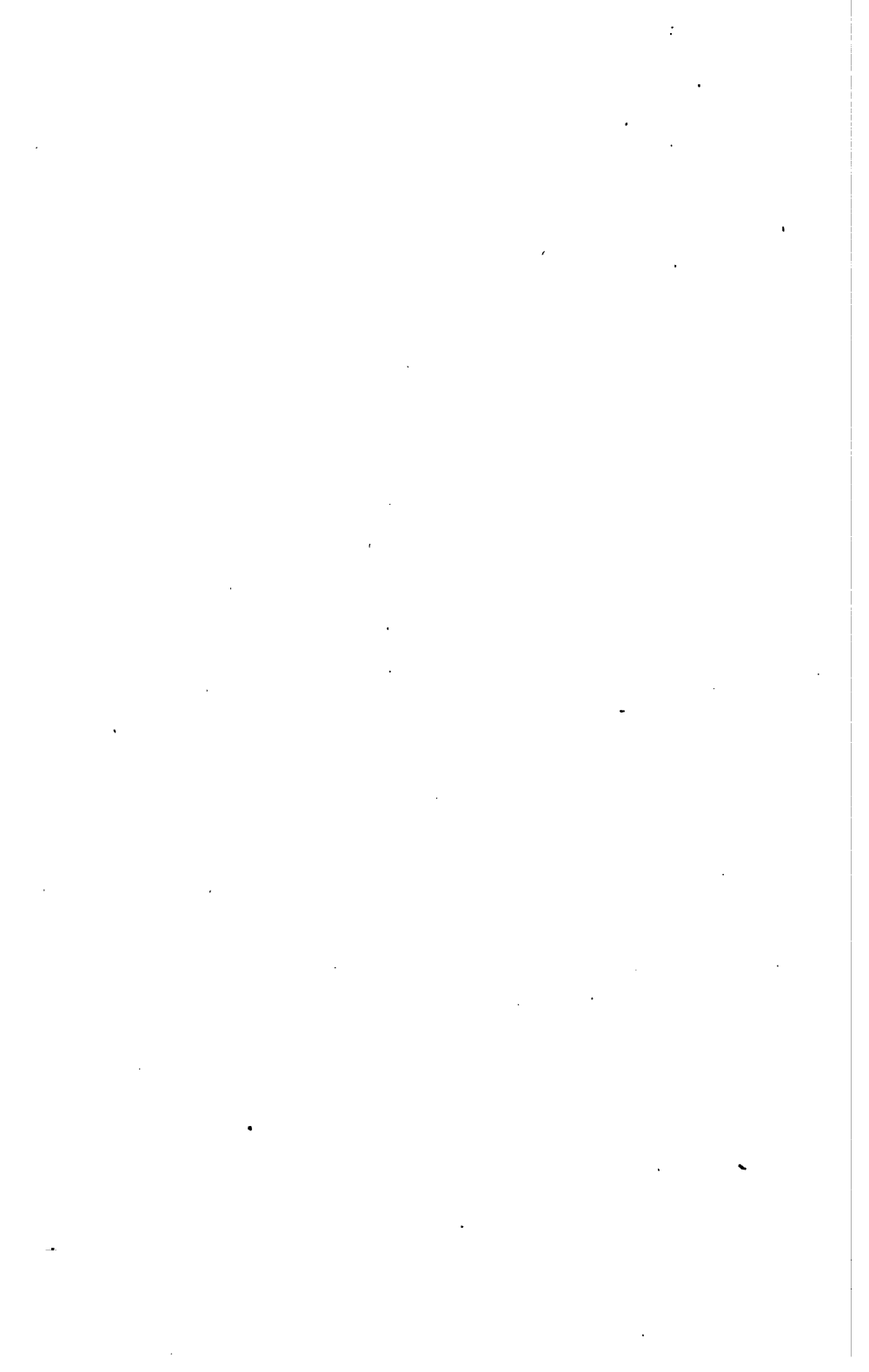


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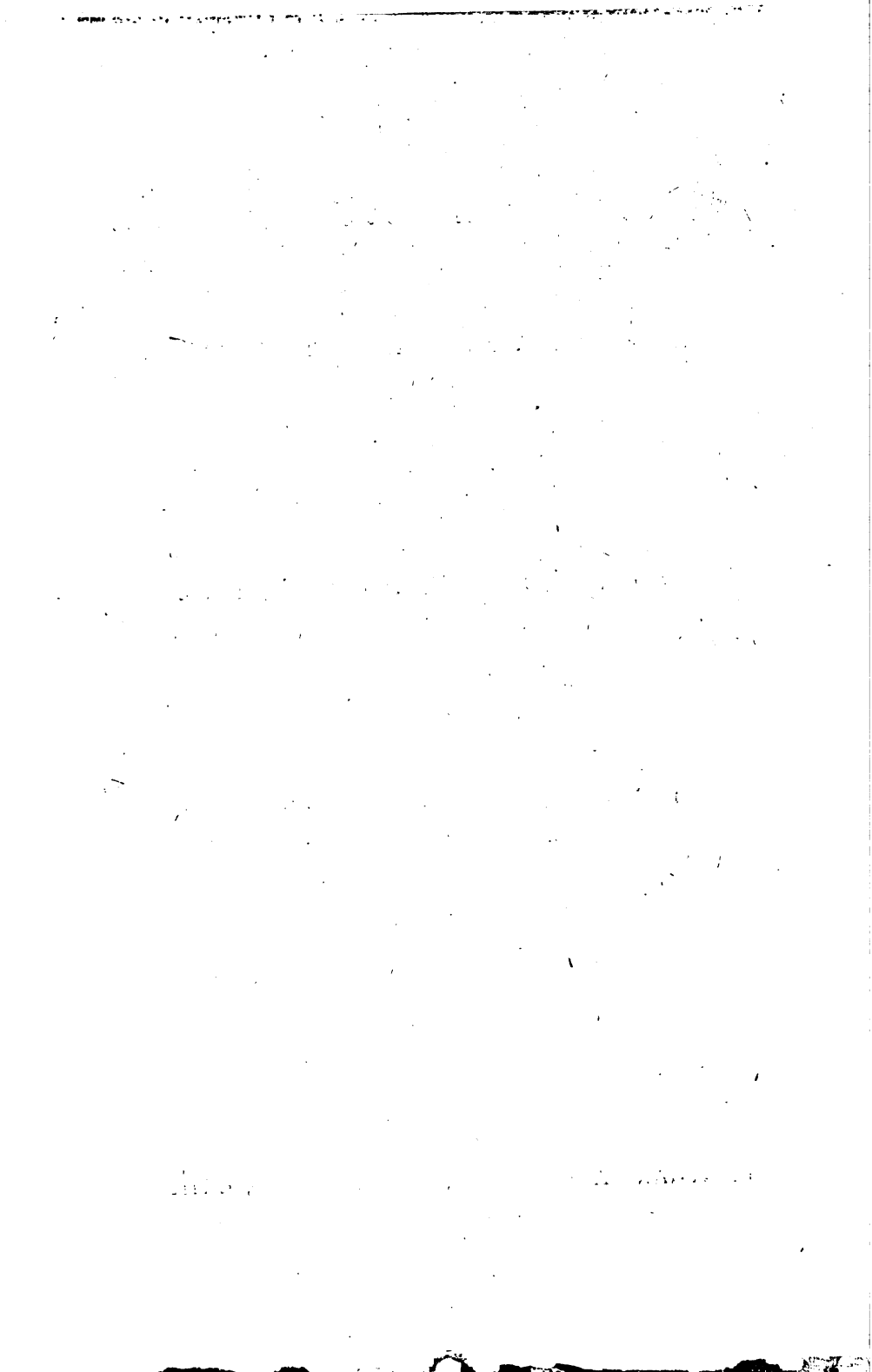
# The Iydgate Canon

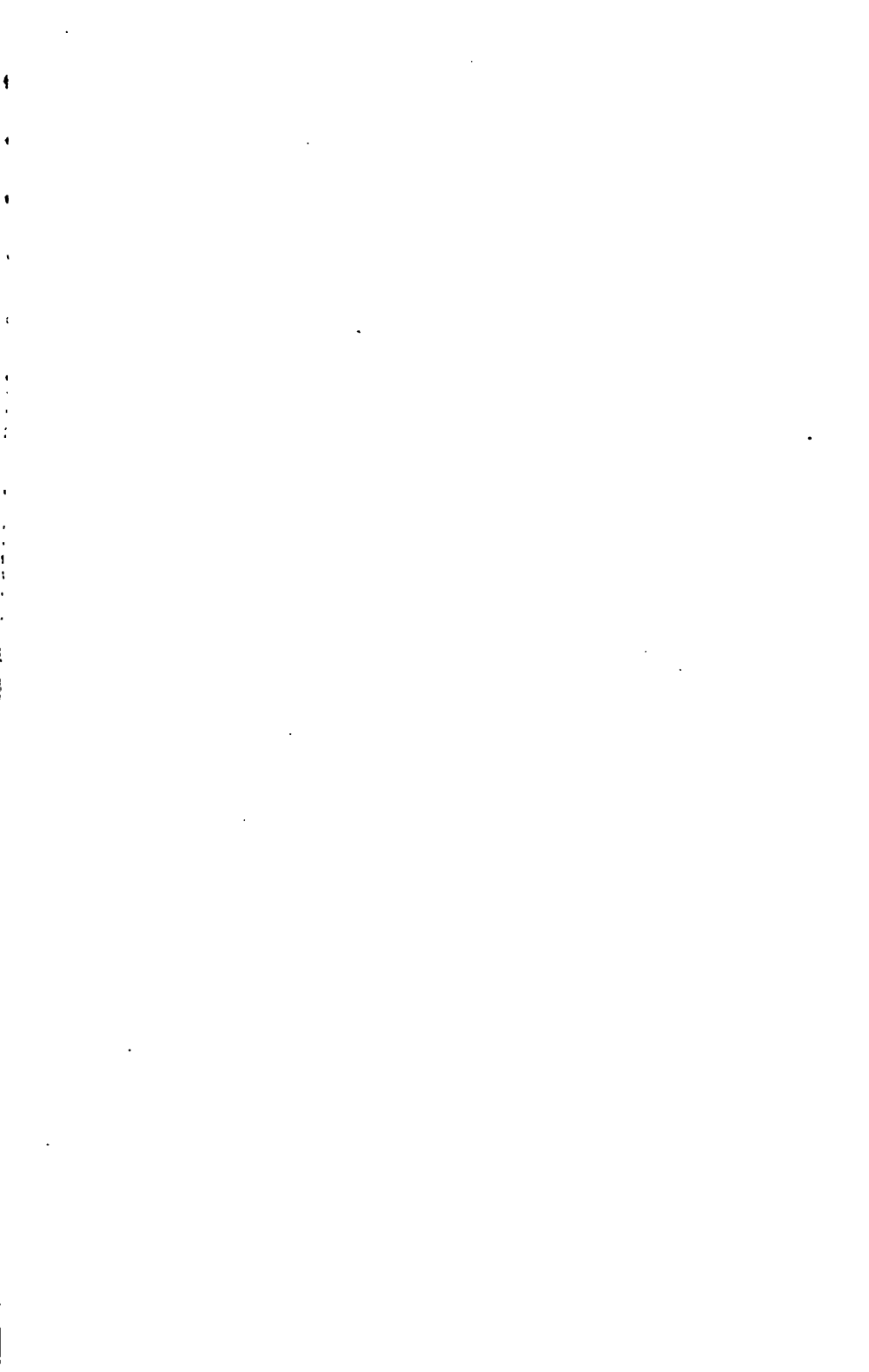
APPENDIX TO  
THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY'S TRANSACTIONS,  
1907-9

BY  
HENRY NOBLE MACCRACKEN, PH.D.

*A Paper read before the Philological Society, London,  
on Friday, March 6, 1908.*

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on MS. authority. But in regard to Lydgate's imitators I can oppose the objection that Lydgate's religious poems, written in his own manner, are almost entirely the product of his old age, and that his imitators are a generation behind him. Lydgate as an old man still writes the language of his youth, but his imitators cannot find this language in the rapidly changing state of the tongue. Thus it is unlikely that any imitator on the religious side will be able to imitate Lydgate so closely as to defy detection. Poets of equal age with Lydgate may do so, but they are not so apt to be his imitators. And diligent search has failed to find a single known religious poet of the time whose rhyme-scheme is the same as Lydgate's.

But upon the other side of the question, upon the exclusion of spurious poetry, it is, I think, a safe canon, or means of discrimination, that if in 100,000 lines of verse known as Lydgate's no exception can be found to certain phenomena, any poem in which these phenomena occur must possess stronger evidence than tradition dating from later than 1500 if its claim to share in Lydgate's fame is to be admitted. Lydgate might have changed his style, his rhyme, his metre for another, had he ever been conscious that another style, metre or rhyme was desirable; there is no evidence that he ever thought so or that any contemporary ever thought so. On the contrary, his style throughout his life is highly commended by the religious poet, by the historical verse writer, and by the poet of courtly love. This style is perhaps the most uniform, the most repetitive, the most conventional of all English poetry. In his work, therefore, if anywhere, tests of rhyme, rhyme-tag, metre and phrase should be applied with almost absolute precision.

We have then before us the task not of describing, in all their detail, the characteristics of Lydgate's poetry, but of providing if possible a basis for certain tests of genuineness.

#### I. RHYME.

Lydgate was throughout his life an accurate and skillful rhymers.<sup>1</sup> His rhyme-index is carefully modelled on Chaucer's, and there are very few exceptions to his usage. Certain of these should be noted.

1. Words ending in -er, -ere, -ers, rhyme with words in -ir, -ire, -irs.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In all these remarks I but follow the various editors of Lydgate's works, for the Early English Text Society.

But so they do in the Assembly of Gods, and in Bokenham's poems, and in Fragment B of the Romaunt of the Rose.

2. Open and close e, and o, are not kept apart.

But this is characteristic of all fifteenth century verse, and in fact Chaucer did not always keep the distinction.

3. Final weak -e. Words ending in a final weak -e sometimes rhyme with words that do not. But this practice is characteristic of the poems of the whole century. The whole matter of final -e in the fifteenth century is best postponed until we are more sure as to the facts.

4. The -y : -ye, -ie, rhyme.

In certain words, mercy, party, Calvary, Lydgate varies between -y and -ye rhymes.<sup>1</sup> But aside from these, Lydgate's usage is practically uniform, he never departs from the Chaucerian usage once in 10,000 lines.

It should be noted that skye, no matter in what sense it is used, always rhymes with words in -ye, as do remedye, Marie.

5. We may now note certain Chaucerian distinctions, observed by Lydgate, but neglected by one or other of the poets whose works are identified as Lydgate's.<sup>2</sup>

- |                  |                       |
|------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. -igne, -ine.  | Ex. benigne : devine. |
| 2. -ighte, -ite. | „ righte : lyte.      |
| 3. -orie, -ye.   | „ glorie : folye.     |
| 4. -arie, -ie.   | „ necessarie : folye. |
| 5. -ees, -esse.  | „ pees : excesse.     |

6. Assonances.<sup>3</sup>

7. Penultimate or antepenultimate rhyme of words in -oun.<sup>4</sup>

In Nos. 1, 2, and 6 of the above classes Lydgate's usage is almost uniform; in 3, 4, and 5 it may be said to be absolutely so. These distinctions, so often neglected by other poets of the time, furnish the readiest way to dispose of most of the pseudo-Lydgatian poetry.

<sup>1</sup> Three examples in *Complaint of the Black Knight*, and three in *Reason and Sensuality*, both early works. Practically none in later poems.

<sup>2</sup> John Walton, for example, rhymes -orie : -ye; as do John Hardyng, Quixley, and Burgh. The continuator of the *Secrees* rhymes -igne : -ine continually.

<sup>3</sup> Assonances occur in Lydgate, but very rarely indeed.

<sup>4</sup> Temptacioun : nacioun, derisioun : visioun, corrécioun : diléccioun, etc. The -acioun rhyme comes into Lydgate's work rarely, and by accident in his latest poems (*Secrees*, *Miracles of Edmund*); the others never. They are characteristic of Hoccleve's verse, however.

## II. METRE.

Lydgate, like most other poets of his time, had two lines, one of four accents, the other of five accents. I do not know whether in any poem of his he puts the short line and the long line together; certain evidence points that way. His normal forms of verse are the rhyme royal or ballade, as it was called in his time, the eight-line ballade stanza, and couplets in 8 and 10 syllables. In his envoys he sometimes employs stanzas of varying rhyme-schemes, *abba*, *aabba*, etc. Lydgate wrote roundels too, we know. It seems pretty certain that in his five-accent line Lydgate allowed greater variety than Chaucer in the number of unaccented syllables. Yet at the same time he never went so far as to make his lines impossible of reading under a scheme of variations of the iambic pentameter.<sup>1</sup> Thus verse so rude as that of the Coventry Miracle Plays is quite foreign to his manner. Throughout his life he centred his attention on the even flow of his verse, and on the simplicity of structure so noticeable in Chaucer. Those two ideals led him into redundancy and exceeding looseness of grammatical form, but they never misled him into unmelodious measures.

Professor Churton Collins was perfectly right in saying that Lydgate wrote some of the smoothest verse in the language. But to contend that no other poet could write harmoniously in Lydgate's day would be hopeless. Such a poem as that addressed to Lydgate in MS. Bodley, Fairfax 16, is as metrical as any of Lydgate's, and obviously cannot be by him.

Until then a careful study of the metres of the fifteenth century is made, and the prevailing rhythms noted down by some one as acute as Professor Sievers, let us say, no possible test, other than that of absolute roughness, can be used on poetry attributed to Lydgate.

<sup>1</sup> The broken-backed line, which Professor Schipper noted, with two accented syllables next each other at the caesura, is not altogether objectionable. I have tried reading *Troy Book* aloud, and have come to agree with its editor that it is a pleasant variation of the line. The phenomenon is not unknown in later times. I give a typical specimen, *Troy Book*, 16:

To lóke vpón ínly fúríous.

But I believe with Professor Kaluza that this broken-backed line can in most instances be easily mended, and that it was far less used than editors of Lydgate would have us believe. (*Literaturblatt f. germ. Phil.*, 1899, pp. 373-375; 1900, p. 408.)

## III. STYLE.

1. *Subject*.—Lydgate's pen was at the service of any devout Catholic and patriotic Lancastrian. If his range of ideas was narrow, he was yet ready to do what he could in any direction. From some fields of writing he was shut out naturally, the fields open to a man of opposite nature. With the possible exception of one poem,<sup>1</sup> Lydgate never descended to the vulgar and obscene. When translating, however, he might feel himself bound to reproduce his original. Thus in the *Ballade of the Crabbe*, Lydgate attacks priests, though very slightly, because his original had not spared them.

It is thus not safe to believe that any subject would have been foreign to Lydgate's pen, with the one exception of obscenity. And even here Lydgate's introduction of Mine Host of the Tabard in the Prologue to his *Story of Thebes*, and the rather coarse language which Mine Host uses, proves that Lydgate enjoyed this side of Chaucer's humour as well as the other.

2. *Chaucerian influence*.—No amount of Chaucerian influence can be taken as a test of Lydgate's genuine writing. There was no poet of the time, I believe, more the creature of Chaucer, no poet more eager to

“ . . . seke his boke þat is left be-hynde,  
Som goodly word þer-in for to fynde  
To sette amonge þe crokid lynys rude  
Whiche I do write ; as, by similitude,  
þe ruby stant, so royal of renoun  
With-Inne a ryng of copur or latoun.”

(*Troy Book*, II, 4703 f.)

Yet others were no doubt equally devoted, and no greater mistake could be made than to ascribe a poem to Lydgate merely because it is Chaucerian and yet not quite up to Chaucer's mark.

3. *Other influence*.—In his religious poetry Lydgate shows most clearly the influence of that school of poetry, of which the highest types are the *Pearl* and the *Quia Amore Languet*. While I do not believe that Lydgate could rise to the height of this last poem, yet he came near it on more than one occasion, and it is very difficult to distinguish between a poem like *Timor Mortis Conturbat Me*, by Lydgate, and others like *Fortis ut Mors dileccio*, not claimed for him.

4. Much has been made of Lydgate's tendency to repetition,

<sup>1</sup> *The Hood of Green*, noted below.

amplification, and digression ; and indeed in some poems, particularly those from the French, these traits seem almost a peculiar disease. But these qualities are characteristic of the homilist at any period, and the duplication of terms is an essential quality of English style. It would thus be dangerous to draw any line between Lydgate's tendency to excessive redundancy and the normal verbiage of monkish poets. There are times when Lydgate is concise, when every line tells ; there are times when other poets than Lydgate grow tedious.

5. The personality of Lydgate, as expressed in his writings, may on occasion serve us as a guide. Lydgate is always modest, depressive, simple ; he never forces himself or his opinion on the reader, never treats the reader otherwise than as a master. It is quite true that this attitude is a conventional one of the time, but in no other writer that I have read is sincerity in the use of the convention so evident in every line of his writing.

6. Another characteristic of Lydgate's style may be taken as a test, his rhyme-tags. The best collection of these is in the preface to *Reson and Sensuallyte* in the E.E.T.S. series. We note the great variety of them, and the absence of one rhyme-tag so needed by the minstrel, "verament."

Here then is a conservative statement of the tests which can be applied. With proper caution, we can exact a certain smoothness of verse, a certain dignity and elevation of sentiment, a certain polish as of the court. We can demand no minstrel-rhyme-tags, and no frequent use of the half-dozen departures from Chaucer's rhyme-scheme, which I have particularly noted. Applying these tests in a friendly manner, it is now possible to draw up a list of Lydgate's poems as they exist to-day in print or manuscript, and to indicate the evidence upon which we may allow them to the monk of Bury. I have made the list an alphabetical one by titles, quoting first lines.<sup>1</sup> Poems in which Lydgate names himself or his place of birth are indicated by titles in capitals. Manuscripts in which the

<sup>1</sup> On titles. So far as possible, I have preserved the titles given in rubrics. This is particularly true of the Latin titles indicating the hymns translated. In some cases, however, the titles in different MSS. of the same poem are not identical, in other cases the same title is applied to different poems. As most of the poems are ballades with refrains, I have followed the practice adopted in Chaucer's poems *Trouthe*, *Lak of Stedfastnesse*, etc., of selecting the essential element in the refrain line. In other cases I have tried to select a title agreeable to the theme. The danger of confusion with titles given by others will be obviated by cross references in the index.

scribe in rubric or colophon names Lydgate are named in italics. Other external evidence is not indicated. On the side of internal evidence it should be said that my examination of the poems here presented finds every one of them agreeing with the tests I have suggested for Lydgate's authorship. Where there is no external evidence, however, the nature of the internal evidence, leading me to accept the poem in the Lydgate canon, is indicated.

Ale-seller,<sup>1</sup> Ballade on an.

*Beg.* Remembryng on the grete unstabilnesse.

*MSS.*—Bodley, Rawlinson, c. 48; 11 stanzas of 7 lines, last two fragmentary.

Sir Frederick Madden, whose annotated copy of Ritson's *Bibliographia Poetica*, in the Harvard College Library, shows that he had a thorough knowledge of Lydgate MSS., ascribes the poem to Lydgate in his account of the MS. in the preface to the Roxburghe Club *Syr Gawayne*. His judgment is verified by the accuracy of the -ye rhyme in the refrain, the tags "I dar riht weel assure," "I dar weel saye," "in substaunce," "done here besy cure," the rhyme resoûn : guerdouin, and the apology for "rude writynge." The ninth stanza is another rendering of the proverb, "Fallere fallentem non est fraus," the version of which from the *Fall of Princes* is so often quoted. The Rawlinson MS. contains chiefly Lydgate poems. I do not feel justified in doubting Sir Frederick Madden's opinion, and therefore accept the poem as in full harmony with Lydgate's style. See also *Ballade per Antiphrasim*.

Amor Vincit Omnia, Mentiris Quod Pecunia.

*Beg.* Ech man folwith his owne fantasie; 17 stanzas of 8 lines.

*MSS.*—*Ashmole* 59 ("pat filosofre Lidegate")<sup>2</sup>; B. M. *Addit.* 29729; *Harley* 2251 ("a demawnde by Lydgate"). What is practically the same refrain is in *Fall of Princes*, Book III, chapter 4, envoy, which appears often as a separate poem.

Ave Jesse Virgula.

*Beg.* Hayle blissid lady moder of Criste Iesu; 19 stanzas of 8 lines.

*MSS.*—*Harley* 2255 (last 12 stanzas), 2251; Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 21 (2 copies).<sup>3</sup>

Ave Maria (or Salutacio Angelica).

*Beg.* Hayle glorious lady and heuenly quene; 5 stanzas of 8 short lines.

*MS.*—Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 21.

<sup>1</sup> MS. title, *Hic nota de illis que vendunt cervisiam in cantuar*. But the poem refers only to a loose tavern-wench.

<sup>2</sup> This is a good place in which to acknowledge my indebtedness to Miss Hammond's recent articles on Shirley MSS. in *Anglia*, *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> Not in Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 20; as stated *Anglia*, 23, 16.

## Ave Regina Celorum.

*Beg.* Hayle luminary and benigne lanternne; 6 stanzas of 8 lines.

MSS.—*Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 21* (2 copies); *Harley 2251*.

Appears in both MSS. in a list of similar poems by Lydgate, and is exactly in their style; "aureate beames," etc.

## Ballade at the Reverence of Our Lady Qwene of Mercy.

*Beg.* A Thowsande stories I koupe to you reherce; 11 stanzas of 7 lines.

MSS.—*Ashmole 59*; *B. M. Sloane 1212*.

Printed by Thynne, *1532 Chaucer*, joined to another poem; separately by Prof. Skeat, *Oxford Chaucer*, VII, 275, with collation of MSS.<sup>1</sup>

## Ballade of Her that hath all Virtues sette in hir Image.

*Beg.* Fresshe lusty beaute, Ioyned with gentylesse; 7 stanzas of 7 lines.

MS.—*Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 20* (there titled *Balade of Love*).

Ballade per Antiphrasim.<sup>2</sup>

*Beg.* Vndir youre hood is but oo contenance; 5 stanzas of 8 lines.

MS.—*Rawlinson c. 48*, where it follows *Ale-seller*.

## Ballade to King Henry VI, on his Coronation.

*Beg.* Moost noble Prynce of cristin prynces alle; 16 stanzas of 8 lines.

MSS.—*Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 20*; *Harley 2251*; *Addit. 29729*; *Ashmole 59*. Printed by Wright, *Political Poems*, II, 141 ff., from MS. (2).

## Benedic Anima Mea.

*Beg.* O thou my soule gyf laude vnto the lord; 22 stanzas of 8 lines.

MSS.—*Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 20* (2 copies); *Addit. 29729*, 34360; and *Harley 2251*. The last three MSS. are probably copies of the first.

## Benedictus Deus in Donis Suis.

*Beg.* God departith his gyfftyes dyversly; 9 stanzas of 8 lines.

MSS.—*Harley 2255*; *Laud 683*.

## Brut.

In the Harvard MS. AR 5 a copy of the common Brut, in John Shirley's hand, has a rubric at the place beginning with the reign of Richard II, where the translation, from the French, of the portion following is ascribed to Lydgate. I found nothing to corroborate this statement in my examination of the translation, but leave it for others to believe or doubt.

## Bycorne and Chichefache.

*Beg.* O prudent folkes takeþe heed; 19 stanzas of 7 short lines.

MSS.—*Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 20*, R. 3. 19; *Harley 2251*; *Addit. 29729*.

Printed by Halliwell, *Minor Poems*, pp. 129-135, from (3). Also in Dodsley's *Old Plays*, ed. 1780, xii, 335; in *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1836; see also Montaignon, *Recueil des poésies françoises des XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Paris, 1855, vol. xi, for a print and French version of the type of which Lydgate's is a translation.

<sup>1</sup> As the *Ballade in Commendation of Our Lady*; under which title I note it below, in discussion.

<sup>2</sup> Noted by Madden as Lydgate's. The refrain, "as I go loos and teied am with a lyne," is also in *Tyed with a Lyne*, below. I take the title from a rubric of Shirley's.

Cambridge, Verses on.

*Beg.* By trewe recorde of the doctor Bede; 13 stanzas of 7 lines.

MSS.—*Baker's MS.* 6, Cambridge;<sup>1</sup> Harley 367.<sup>2</sup>

Printed from former in Retrospective Review, 2d series, I, 498. The general style of the verses is so absolutely in harmony with the lifelessness of Lydgate's later work that it is impossible not to agree with the ascription.

Cartae Versificatae.

*Beg.* Charters of English Kings to the Abbey of Bury; 693 lines, in ballade.

MS.—B. M. Addit. 14848, fols. 243-257 (Register of Wm. Curteys, c. 1440).

Printed from same by Arnold, *Memorials of Bury St. Edmunds*, III (1896), 215-237 (Rolls series). These are so absolutely in accord with Lydgate's style, and their date so coincides with Lydgate's other work of the kind for Curteys (see *De Profundis*) that we must agree with Mr. Arnold in allowing Lydgate as the author. All tests of rhyme throughout agree in proving Lydgate's authorship.

Child Jesus and Mary the Rose, The.

*Beg.* My father above beholding thy mekenes; 8 stanzas of 7 lines.

MS.—Harley 2251. A charming ballade to the Virgin, which I admit "atwixen hope and dred."

Churl and the Bird, The.

*Beg.* Problemes of olde lykenes and fygures; 54 stanzas of 7, envoy 1 of 8.

MSS.—Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 19; *Lansdowne* 699; Harley 116; Caligula A ii; Leyden Voss. 9; Huth; Balliol 354.

Printed by Caxton, de Worde (2), Copland, Pynson, Ashmole (*Theatrum Chemicum*), Roxburghe Club, 1818 (Sykes); Halliwell, *M. P.*, pp. 179-193, re-print in Cambr. facsimile from Caxton. Eight leaves only of the 2d ed. by de Worde exist. See Corser, *Collect. Anglo-Poet.* Pt. viii, p. 382, for prints.

Complaint for My Lady of Gloucester and Holand.

*Beg.* A solitary sore compleynyng; 18 stanzas of 7 short lines.

MSS.—Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 20; *Ashmole* 59 (in running title).

Printed from (1) *Anglia*, xxvii, 381 f., by Miss Hammond. Written by one familiar with the Duke of Gloucester's household, and in Lydgate's manner. Lydgate had been employed to celebrate the betrothal of the Duke and Duchess. A probable reason for the omission of Lydgate's name in the earlier MS., written while the Duke was still alive, is his probable hostility to its author.

Complaint of the Black Knight.

*Beg.* In May when Flora, the fresshe lusty quene; 631 lines, stanzas of 7 lines.

MSS.—Fairfax 16; Bodley 638; Tanner 346; Digby, 181; Arch. Selden B 24; *B. M. Addit.* 16165; Pepys (Magdalene Coll. Camb.) 2006; Asloan MS., 245-246, 293-300.

Printed by de Worde (copy in Chatsworth), Chepman, and Myllar, 1608 (*Golagros and Gawane*); Thynne 1532 in Chaucer; and by succeeding editors as Chaucer's: by Skeat, *Oxf. Chaucer*, VII, 245-265; by Kraussen, *Anglia*, xix, 211-290; and Halle, 1896, from all but last-named MS.; modernized by Dart, 1718.

<sup>1</sup> Transcribed by Stokys from an earlier codex, see Catal. v. 197.

<sup>2</sup> Not in Harley 1704, as Ritson tells us.



## Consulo Quisquis Eris.

*Beg.* I counceyle whatsoever thow be ; 15 stanzas of 8 lines.

MSS.—B. M. Harley 2255, 2251 ; Addit. 34360 ; Univ. Lib. Hh. iv. 12 ; Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 21 ; Jesus Coll. Camb. 56 ; *Bodl. Arch. Selden B 10*, from de Worde's print.

Printed by Halliwell from (1), entitled *The Concordes of Company*, and by Dr. Furnivall in *Pol. Rel. and Love Poems* (E.E.T.S.). The Latin couplet of which the above words are the beginning, and of which the poem is an expansion, is usually found as rubric. The internal evidence for Lydgate's authorship of this piece is overwhelming.

## Criste Qui Lux Es et Dies.

*Beg.* O Criste pat arte bope day and light ; 7 stanzas of 8 short lines.

MSS.—Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 20 ; Harley 2251 ; Bannatyne MS.

## Cristes Passioun.

*Beg.* Man to reforme thyn exil and thi loss ; 16 stanzas of 8 lines.

MSS.—Harley 372, 7333 ; Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 21 ; Univ. Lib. Camb. *Kk. 1. 6* ; *Laud 683* ; B. M. Addit. 31042.

## Daunce of Machabree.

*Beg.* O ye folkes, harde hearted as a stone ; 84 stanzas of 8 lines.

MSS.—Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 21 ; Lansdowne 699 ; Leyden Voss. 9 ; Bodley 221 ; Selden supra 53 ; Bodley 686 ; Harley 115 ; Ellesmere, Corp. Chr. Coll. 237.

Printed in Tottell, *Fall of Princes*, 1554 ; Dugdale's *St. Paul's*, 1658, p. 289 ; Douce, *Holbein*, 1794 ; Montaiglon, *Alphabet of Death*, Paris, 1856 ; Modern version, see Brit. Bibl. II, 463, *La Danse Machabre*, by W. Coleman, 1630.

## De Profundis.

*Beg.* Hauyng a conseit in my sympill wyt ; 21 stanzas of 8 lines.

MSS.—Harley 2255 ; *Laud. 683* ; Jesus Coll. Camb. 56 ; MS. (2) lacks two last stanzas. Written in old age for Curteys.

## Death's Warning.

*Beg.* Sip pat ye list to set me in your boke ; 8 stanzas of 7 lines.

MSS.—Harley 1706 (Nos. 11, 12) ; Douce 221 ; Univ. Lib. Camb.

Ff. v. 45. In the first two MSS. these ballades are said to be taken out of the book of John Lucas ; with the exception of the first stanza, however, they are from the *Fall of Princes*. It is not unlikely that Lydgate himself extracted them, and wrote a first stanza to accompany a grisly image of death, like that in the Douce copy.

## Defence of Holy Church.

*Beg.* Right mighty prince of whom the noble fame ; 21 stanzas of 7 lines, incomplete.

MSS.—Harley 1245, at end ; Sloane 1212 (8 stanzas).

Addressed to a royal personage, and in both MSS., with other pieces by Lydgate, this poem bears every trace of his style, both in circumlocution and in metrical tests.

## Departyng of Chaucer, On the.

*Beg.* O thow Lucyna qwene and Empyresse ; 11 stanzas of 7 lines.

MS.—B. M. Addit. 16165.

Printed by Dr. Furnivall in *Notes and Queries*, 4th Series, IX, 381 f., and in his ed. of Thynne's *Animadversions* Chaucer Society, 2d Series, No. 13, App. VI ; and by Miss Hammond, *Modern Philology*, I, 331.

Deus in Nomine Tuo Salvum Me Fac.

*Beg.* God in thi name make me safe and sounde ; 8 stanzas of 8 lines.  
*MSS.*—*Ashmole* 59 ; *Caligula* A ii ; *Harley* 2255 ; *Harley* 116.

Dietary, A.

*Beg.* For helth of body cover for cold thyn hede ; 11 stanzas of 8 lines.  
*MSS.*—*Laud* 683 ; *Bodley* 686, 688, 48 ; *Addit.* B 60 (29179) ; *Ashmole* 61 ; *Rawlinson* A 653, c. 48, c. 86 ; *Harley* 4011, 2252, 2251, 941, 116 ; *Stow* 982 ; *Sloane* 775, 3534 (with Latin), 989 ; *Arundel* 168 ; *Lambeth* 444, 853 ; *B. M. Addit.* 34360, 10099 ; *Cal.* A ii ; Scotch texts in *St. John's Camb. G.* 23 ; *Bannatyne MS.*, and *McCulloch MS.* (*Univ. Lib. Edin.*). Others are *Hawkins MS.* in *Phillipps sub. cat.* p. 67 (1895) ; *Trinity College, Dublin*, 516 ; *Soc. of Antiq.* 101 ; *B. M. Egerton* 1995 ; *Bodley, Rawl. poet.* 35, 36 ; *Lansdowne* 699 ; *Leyden Voss.* 9 ; *Jesus Coll. Camb.* 56 ; *Univ. Coll. Oxf.* 60.  
 Printed by Caxton as *Medicina Stomacht*, by Halliwell from *Harley* 2251 ; *Dr. Furnivall, Babees Book*, E.E.T.S. ; *Lambeth* 853 ; *Latin of Sloane* 3534 ; *Dr. Skeat* from *St. John's* in ed. of *Bruce*, S.T.S. ; *Hunterian Club* ed. of *Bannatyne MS.*  
 The poem is much changed in later texts.

Doctrine for Pestilence, A.

*Beg.* Who wil ben hole and kepe hym fro syknesse ; 4 stanzas of 8 lines.  
*MSS.*—*Laud* 683 ; *Jesus Coll. Camb.* ; *Bodley, Rawl.* c. 86, in (1) following the *Dietary*, in (2) and (3) preceding it without separation. In *Leyden MSS.* 9 and *Lansdowne* 699, this ballade is attached to the *Dietary* with additional stanzas between, perhaps by *Lydgate*. The original of the ballade is probably art. 21, *Trin. Coll. Camb. R.* 3. 20, a French ballade.

Doublenesse.

*Beg.* This world is ful of variaunce ; 13 stanzas of 8 short lines.  
*MSS.*—*B. M. Addit.* 16165 ; *Harley* 7578 ; *Ashmole* 59 (long lines at first, by padding) ; *Fairfax* 16.  
 Printed in 1561 *Chaucer*, etc., and *Oxford Chaucer*, VII, 291.

Duodecim Abusiones.

*Beg.* Go forthe, king, reule the by sapience ; 2 stanzas of 8 lines.  
 Printed by Caxton, *W. de Worde* (2) ; *Chaucer* 1561, 1598 ; *Bell's Chaucer* ; *Temple of Glas*, App. II ; *Oxford Chaucer*, vol. VII, q. v.

Entry into London, King Henry VI's Royal.

*Beg.* Toward the ende of wyndy February ; 544 lines, with a roundel.  
*MSS.*—*Harley* 565 ; *Cotton*, *Julius B II* ; *Cleopatra* c. iv.  
 Printed by Halliwell, *Min. Poems*, from (3) ; by C. L. Kingsford, *Chronicles of London*, 1905, 97–116, from (2) ; by *Nicolas*, *Chronicle of London*, 1827, from (1).  
 The Roundel in the poem corrected and printed by *Schleich*, *Archiv*, 96, 191–194.  
 This poem proves itself *Lydgate's* in every line.

Fabula Duorum Mercatorum.

*Beg.* In Egypt whilom as I rede and fynde ; 910 lines in rhyme royal.  
*MSS.*—*Harley* 2255, 2251 ; *B. M. Addit.* 34360 ; *Lansdowne* 699 ; *Leyden Voss.* 9 ; *Rawl. poet.* 32.  
 Printed by *Zupitza-Schleich*, *Wien*, 1897, *Quellen u. Forschungen*, vol. 83.  
 For proof of *Lydgate's* authorship, see *Schleich's* valuable preface.

## FALL OF PRINCES.

*Beg.* He that whilom did his diligence; 36316 lines in 7 and 8 line stanzas (Koepfel, p. 87).

MSS.—Harley 1245, 1766, 3486, 4197, 4205, 4260; Royal 18 B xxxi, 18 D iv, 18 D v; B. M. Addit. 21410; Phillipps, Longleat, Rutland, Jersey, Glasgow, Mostyn; Lambeth 254; Bodley 263; e Museo 215; Hatton 105; Corp. Chr. Oxf. 242; two owned by Quaritch; Glasgow Univ. Fragments in numerous MSS. including Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 19, 20; *Ashmole* 59; Pepys 2006; McLean 182; Harley 2202; Sloane 1825 (90b); Harley 4011; Arch. Selden B 10. A fragment beginning "Al thow so be in every maner age," is often cited as an independent poem, in Harley 172; *Ashmole* 59 (even Miss Hammond does so in her article on *Ashmole* 59, *Anglia*, xxx, 324, No. 11), and elsewhere. The ballade on Women's Chastity, which Professor Skeat proved by examination of final -e, to be "much later than Lydgate," is from Book III, v. Book I, chaps. 3-7 is in Sloane 2452.

See also under *Death's Warning*, and also Schick, *Temple of Glas*, p. cii, and *Anglia*, xxviii, 19-20.

Printed by R. Pynson, 1494 (with the extremely good envoy of Greeneacres), 1527; Tottell, 1554; Wayland, 1558; Extracts by de Worde, 1510 (Proverbs of Lydgate).

Fal of Princes in Oure Dayes, The Sodeine.<sup>1</sup>

*Beg.* Beholde this gret prynce Edward the secounde; 7 stanzas of 7 lines. MSS.—*Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 20*; Harley 2251; *Addit.* 29729.

## Fifteen Joys and Fifteen Sorrows of Mary.

*Beg.* Atween mydnyht and the fressh morwe gray; 72 stanzas of 7 lines.

MSS.—*Harley* 2255; *Addit.* 29729; Jesus Coll. Camb. 56; Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 21; Longleat 258; *Bodley* 686.

## Fifteen Joys of Mary (II).

*Beg.* Blessed lady o pryncesse of mercy; 27 stanzas of 7 lines.

MSS.—*Titus A xxvi*; *Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 21*. Part in Cotton, Appendix xxvii, art. 12.

## Fifteen Ooes (Ooes of Christ).

*Beg.* O blyssid lord my lord O Crist Iesu; 42 stanzas of 8 lines.

MSS.—*Laud* 683; Rawl. c. 48; *Harley* 2255; B. M. *Addit.* 29729.

A Scotch version different from this is in Aruudel 285, and another M. E. metrical version in Rawl. poet. 32. A prose translation is in Harley 172, with an interesting prologue.

## Fifteen Toknys afforn the Doom.

*Beg.* As the doctour sanctus Ieronimus; 11 stanzas of 8 lines.

MS.—*Harley* 2255.

Printed by Wright, Chester Plays, Shakespeare Society Series, 1847, vol. II, pp. 222-224.

These stanzas bear every indication of Lydgatian authorship, both in metre and style. See further, Koepfel, *Anglia*, *Anzeiger*, 24, 55, who argues for Lydgate's authorship.

## Flour of Curtesye.

*Beg.* In Fevrier whan the frosty mone; 270 lines of 7 lines with ballade.

Printed by *Thynne*, 1532, etc.; Oxford Chaucer, VII, 266-274.

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<sup>1</sup> Also called *Fates of Princes*. The above is Shirley's title.

Four Things that Make a Man a Fool.

*Beg.* Worshyp, wommen, wyne, vnweldy age; 8 stanzas of 7 lines, stans. 2 and 3 attributed to Halsham by Shirley.

MSS.—Fairfax 16; Harley 7578, 7333; Harley 116; Ashmole 59; *Addit.* 16165; Harley 2251; and *Addit.* 34360 (1 stanza); Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 19, R. 3. 20. The first stanza rewritten in Stow 1561, from *Addit.* 29729; *Oxford Chaucer*, VII, 297; with a stanza of 7 lines added, *beg.* "If it be falle," etc. See under *Tyed with a Lyne*.

Friend at Neode, A.

*Beg.* Late whan Aurora of Tytan toke leve; 17 stanzas of 7 lines.

MS.—*Ashmole* 59.

Gaude Virgo Mater Christi.

*Beg.* Be gladde mayde moder of cryst Iesu; 7 stanzas of 7 lines.

MSS.—*Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 20*; R. 3. 21; Harley 2251.

Gentlewoman's Lament, A.

*Beg.* Alla; I wooful cryature; 7 stanzas of 8 lines.

MSS.—*Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 20*; Harley 2251.

Koepfel, *Falls*, 1883, p. 76, thinks this is spurious, but I doubt his logic. There is no reason why Lydgate could not write in a woman's person.

Gloriosa dicta sunt De Te.

*Beg.* On hooly hilles wheeche beope of gret Renoun; 29 stanzas of 8 lines.

MSS.—*Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 20*; *B. M. Addit.* 29729, 34360; Harley 2251, 2255.

Gloucester's Marriage, On.

*Beg.* Thorough gladde aspectis of þe god Cypyde; 27 stanzas of 7 lines, 1 of 8.

MSS.—*Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 20*; Harley 2251.

Printed by Miss Hammond, Anglia, xxvii, 385.

God is my Helper.

*Beg.* God is myn helpere and ey shal be; 18 stanzas of 8 short lines.

MS.—*Harley* 2255.

GUY OF WARWICK.

*Beg.* From tyme of Crist complete nyne hundred yere; 69 stanzas of 8 (1 of 9), envoy of 4 lines, in all 592 or 565 lines.

MSS.—*Laud* 683; Leyden Voss. 9; Harley 5293, 7333; *Harvard University A R* 5; Lansdowne 699; Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 21.

Printed from (1) by Zupitza, *Akademischeschrift*, Wien, 1873, lxxiv, 623, and separately; from (5) by F. N. Robinson, *Harvard Studies and Notes*, V, 177-220.

Haste, A Ditty upon.

*Beg.* All haste is odious whereas discrecioun; 17 stanzas of 8 lines.

MSS.—*Rawl.* c. 86; Harley 2251; *Univ. Lib. Camb. Kk. 1. 6*; Harley 78.

Holy Meditation, A.

*Beg.* After the stormy tyme cessing the reyne; 182 lines of heroic couplets.

MSS.—*Ashmole* 59; Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 20.

**Horns away.**

*Beg.* Of god and kynd procedeth al beaste ; 10 stanzas of 8 lines.

MSS.—*Laud* 683 ; *Harley* 2251, 2255 ; Addit. 34360 ; *Ashmole* 59 ; Univ. Lib. Camb. Hh. iv, 12 ; Jesus Coll. 56 ; Trin. Coll. R. 3. 19 ; Rawl. c. 86 ; Leyden Voss. 9.

Printed from (3) by Sir H. Nicolas in *Chron. of London*, 1827 ; by Halliwell—*Rel. Ant.* I, 74 ; *Minor P. of Lyd.*, 1840 ; *Pol., Rel. and Love Poems*, E.E.T.S., re-ed. 1903.

**Horse, Goose and Sheep, Debate between the.**

*Beg.* Controversies pleis and alle discorde ; 77 stanzas of 7 lines, envoy 15 of 8 lines, in all 659.

MSS.—*Rawl. c.* 86 ; *Lamb.* 306 ; Leyden Voss. 9 ; *Harley* 2251 ; Lansdowne 699 ; Addit. 34360 ; *Ashmole* 50, 754 ; Rawl. c. 48 ; *Laud* 598 ; Huth MS.

Printed by Caxton, de Worde (repr. Roxburghe Club), by Furnivall in *Pol., Rel. and Love Poems*, by Degenhart in *Münchener Beiträge*, 1900.

**How the Plage was Sesyd in Rome.**

*Beg.* So noble medesyne ne so souverayne ; 6 stanzas of 8 lines.

MS.—Addit. 29729.

**Image of Our Lady, On the.**

*Beg.* Beholde and se this gloriows fygure ; 5 stanzas of 8 lines.

MS.—B. M. Addit. 29729.

**Isopes Fabules.**

*Beg.* Wisdom is more of pris than gold in coffres ; 959 lines of rhyme royal.

MSS.—*Harley* 2251 ; Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 19 ; *Ashmole* 59.

Printed from (1) by Sauerstein, 1885 ; from others by Zupitza, *Archiv*, 85, 1-24.

**Jak Hare.**

*Beg.* A froward knave plainly to discryve ; 7 stanzas of 8 lines.

MSS.—*Laud* 683 ; *Harley* 2251 ; Lansdowne 699 ; Leyden Voss. 9.

Printed from (2) by Wright, *Rel. Antiquæ*, I, 13 ; Halliwell's *Minor Poems*, pp. 52-55.

The version in Lansdowne has three probably spurious stanzas.

**Kalendare, A.**

*Beg.* Iesu Lord ! for thy holy circumcision ; 51 stanzas of 7, one of 8 lines.

MSS.—*Harley* 1706, 4011 ; Longleat 258 ; Rawlinson 408 ; *Douce* 322, 229 ; Lambeth 878.

Printed from (2), (5), (6), by Horstmann, *Archiv*, 80, 115-135. See his remarks on authorship.

**Kings of England Sithen William Conquerour, The**

*Beg.* This myghty William Duk of Normandy ; 15 stanzas of 7 lines.

MSS.—*Bodley* 686 ; *Ashmole* 59 ; Lansdowne 699 ; Leyden Voss. 9 ; *Harley* 7333 ; Jesus Coll. Camb. 56 ; Rawl. c. 48 ; *Harley* 78 ; *Fairfax* 16 (down to Henry VI) ; Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 21 ; Egerton 1995 (heading for

Edward IV, and stanza on Henry VI re-written) ; *Harley* 2251 ; Addit. 31042 and 34360 (have stanza on Edward IV) ; Regius 18 D ii (down to Henry VIII) ; *Bodley* 1999 ; Coll. of Arms 58 ; Rawl. c. 48, c. 86 ; *Bodley*

48, 131, 912; Tanner 383; Ashmole 456; Cott. Julius E iv and v; Bodley Addit. E 7, and Douce g. 2 (rolls); Caius Coll. Camb. 249 (to Henry V); Harley 372 (Alfred to Henry VI); Stow 69 (frag.). Several of the above MSS. have little to do with Lydgate's original lines, though they are imitations.

**Lavenders, Treatise for.**

*Beg.* Yee maisteresses myne and clenly chambererys; 3 stanzas of 7 lines.

MSS.—Univ. Lib. Camb. Ff. 1. 6; last stanza in Harley 2251; Addit. 34360.

Printed by Wright, *Rel. Ant.* I, 26; by Steele, *Academy*, 1894, I, p. 395.

**Legend of Dan Joos.**

*Beg.* O welle of swetnesse replete in euery veyne; 16 stanzas of 7 lines.

MSS.—Harley 2251; Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 21 (2 copies).

Printed by Halliwell, *Minor Poems* 62 ff., by Horstmann, *Chaucer Society, Originals and Analogues*, III. In Lydgate's best manner.

**Letabundus, On.**

*Beg.* Grounde take in vertu by patriarkys olde; 39 stanzas of 8 lines.

MSS.—*Harley* 2255; Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 21.

**Letter to Gloucester.**

*Beg.* Right mighty prince and it be your wille; 8 stanzas of 8 lines.

MSS.—*Harley* 2251, 2255; *Addit.* 34360; *Lansdowne* 699; *Leyden* Voss. 9; *Pepys* 2011.

Printed by Sir H. Nicolas, *Chronicle of London*, 1827; Halliwell, *Minor Poems*, pp. 49-51.

**Letter to Lady Sibille.**

*Beg.* The chief gynnyng of grace and of vertue; 20 stanzas of 7 lines.

MS.—*Ashmole* 59. Also called *Letter to Sibille*.

**Life of Our Lady, The.**

*Beg.* O thoughtful herte plunged in distresse; 5936 lines, rhyme royal.

MSS.—B.M. Sloane 1785, 1825 (part); Arundel 66; Cotton App. VIII; Harley 629, 1304, 3362, 2382 (with two extra books), 3952, 4014, 4260, 5272; Addit. 19252, 19432; Lambeth 344; Advocates' Lib. Edin. Jac. v. 7 (part); Ashmole 39, 59; Bodley 75, 120; Rawl. poet. 140; St. John's Coll. Oxf. 56; Hatton 73; Corp. Chr. 61, 237; Cambridge Trin. Coll. R. 3. 21, R. 3. 22; *Caius Coll.* 230 (*Magnificat*, ch. xxii), which belonged to Whethamstede of St. Alban's; Univ. Lib. Mm. vi. 15, Kk. 1. 13; Society of Antiquaries, No. 134 (begins at chap. xiii); Armes MS. (Univ. California); Cockerell MS. (London).

Printed by Caxton, Redman, C. E. Tome. Parts in Bannatyne MS. (*Magnificat*) and Huth MS. (beginning Book II). Everywhere ascribed to Lydgate. The parts in the Edinburgh copy were printed in Visio Tundali, ed. Turnbull, 1843, and commented on by Brandl,<sup>1</sup> as original poems of the later 15th century, and as continuing the mysticism of the West Midland school. An edition of the whole poem was long ago announced by Fiedler, *Anglia*, xv, 391.

<sup>1</sup> Paul's *Grundriss*, etc., II, 693.

**LOKE IN THY MEROUR, AND DEME NONE OTHER WIGHT.**

*Beg.* Toward the ende of frosty January ; 27 stanzas of 8 lines.  
*MSS.*—*Harley 2255* ; Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 21 ; Rawl. c. 86 ; *Arch. Selden B 10* ; Phillipps 8299 ; Jesus Coll. Camb. 56.  
 Printed by de Worde (Lydgate's Proverbs) ; Halliwell, *Minor Poems*, 156-164.

**MASSE, VERTUES OF THE.**

*Beg.* Ye that beth of good devocyon ; 83 stanzas of 8 lines.  
*MSS.*—*Harley 2251* ; Addit. 34360 (part) ; *St. John's College, Oxf. 56* ; Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 21 ; Hatton 73 ; *Ashmole 59* (part) ; Addit. 31042 (part) ; Lambeth 344 ; Balliol 354 ; *Laud 683* (part) ; Rawl. poet. 118 (part) ; Caius 174 (part).

**Mesure, Song of Just.**

*Beg.* By witte of man althyng that is contrived ; 10 or 13 stanzas of 8 lines.  
*MSS.*—*Harley 2251*, Addit. 29729.  
 Printed from former MS. by Halliwell, *Minor Poems*, 80-83.

**Mesure is Tresour.**

*Beg.* Men wryte of oold how mesour is tresour ; 19 stanzas of 8 lines.  
*MS.*—*Harley 2255*.  
 Printed by Halliwell, *Minor Poems*, 208-213.

**Millers and Bakers, Against.**

*Beg.* Put out his hed lyst not for to dare ; 3 stanzas of 8 lines.  
*MS.*—*Harley 2255*, and by Nicolas in *A Chronicle of London*, 1827.  
 Printed *Minor Poems*.

**Miracles of St. Edmund.**

*Beg.* Laude of our lord up to the hevene is reysed ; 464 lines of 8 line stanza.  
*MSS.*—*Harley 2278* ; Cotton, Titus A viii ; *Ashmole 46* ; *Laud 683* ; Tanner 347.  
 Printed by Horstmann, *Altenglische Legenden*, 1882, 440 ff.

**Misericordias Domini in Eternum Cantabo.**

*Beg.* Alle goostly songes and ympnes that be songe ; 24 stanzas of 8 lines.  
*MSS.*—*Harley 2255* ; Jesus Coll. Camb. 56 ; Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 21.

**Mumming at Bishopswood.**

*Beg.* Myghty Flourra goddes of fresshe floures ; 16 stanzas of 7 lines.  
*MS.*—*Ashmole 59*.  
 Printed in Nicolas, *Chronicle of London*, 1827.

**Mumming at Eltham.**

*Beg.* Bachus which is god of þe glade vyne ; 98 lines of rhyme royal.  
*MSS.*—Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 20 ; B. M. Addit. 29729.  
 Printed by Brotanek, *Die Englischen Maskenspiele*, 1902.

**Mumming at Hertford.**

*Beg.* Moost noble prynce with support of your grace ; 254 lines in heroic couplet.  
*MS.*—Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 20.  
 Printed *Anglia*, xxi, 364 ff.

Mumming at London.

*Beg.* Loo her this lady that yee may se ; 342 lines in short couplets.

MSS.—*Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 20* ; *B. M. Addit. 29729*.

Printed by Brotanek, *loc. cit.*

Mumming at Windsor.

*Beg.* Mooste noble prynce of Cristen prynces alle ; 14 stanzas of 7 lines.

MSS. and print as above.

Mumming for the Mercers of London.

*Beg.* Moost mighty lord, Jubyter þe greet ; 15 stanzas of 7 lines.

MSS. and print as above.

Mumming for the Goldsmiths of London.

*Beg.* þat worpy david, which þat sloughe Golye ; 14 stanzas of 7 lines.

MSS. and print as above.

Mydsomer Rose, As a.

*Beg.* Lat no man boost of kunnyng nor vertu ; 15 stanzas of 8 lines.

MSS.—*Harley 2251, 2255* ; *Ashmole 59* ; Univ. Lib. Camb. Hh. iv, 12 ;

*Jesus Coll. Cambridge, 56* ; *Trin. Coll. R. 3. 21*.

Printed by Halliwell, *Minor Poems (On Mutability of Human Affairs)*.

My Lady Dere.

*Beg.* Every maner creature ; 15 stanzas of 8 short lines.

MSS.—*Addit. 16165* ; *Ashmole 59*.

Printed by Dr. Furnivall with *Departyng of Chaucer*, q. v.<sup>1</sup> The rubrics in both cases assign the piece as companion to *Departyng of Chaucer*, but it is obviously a mere lover's lament. The confusion probably arose in A. 16165 or some source of it, from its being next the *Departyng*. See *New Year's Gift*, for another instance of this error in the same MS.

New Year's Gift, A Lover's.

*Beg.* In honnour of this heghe fest of custume yere by yere ; 29 stanzas of 3, with a refrain of 2 lines.

MS.—*B. M. Addit. 16165, 253b*, entitled, *Amerous balade by Lydegate that hape loste his thank of wymmen*. If this rubric refers to the

theme of the poem, it is surely intended for *The Servant of Cupid Forsaken*, the next piece in the MS. This poem is a conventional New Year's Gift, and no lament. See on *My Lady Dere*.

New Year's Gift of an Eagle, On a.

*Beg.* þis hardy foole, þis brydde victorious ; 11 stanzas of 7 lines.

MSS.—*Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 20* ; *Harley 2251* ; *Addit. 29729*.

Printed by Halliwell, *Minor Poems*, pp. 213–216, from (2).

Nightingale, A Saying of the.

*Beg.* In Juygne when Tytan was in þe Crabbes hed ; 379 lines of rhyme royal, probably unfinished.

MSS.—*Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 20* ; *Harley 2251* ; *Addit. 29729*.

Printed by Glauning, E. E. T. S., 1904.

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<sup>1</sup> Not printed by Miss Hammond, as she says, *Anglia*, xxx, 324.



## Nine Properties of Wine, The.

*Beg.* Wyne of nature hath proprieties nyne; 1 stanza of 8 lines.

MSS.—Addit. 10106 and 29729; Harley 2252.

Printed in *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, I, 325, and in *Secrees*, etc., ed. Steele for E.E.T.S., 1895. Latin original, 6 lines, in Trin. Coll. Camb. O. 9. 38, fol. 47a.

## Order of Fools, The.

*Beg.* The ordre of foolles ful yooere ago begonne; 24 stanzas of 8 lines.

MSS.—Harley 2251; B.M. Addit. 34360, *Laud 683*; Cotton, Nero A vi.

Printed from (1) by Halliwell, M. P., p. 164, from (4) by Furnivall, *Book of Precedence*, E.E.T.S., 1869.

## Pageant of Knowledge, A.

*Beg.* Thys worldis is borne up by astates seyn; stanzas of 7 lines.

MS.—Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 21 (complete). The *Seven Wise Counsels*, which is part of this *Pageant*, is in Harley 116; Arundel 168; Harley 2251, 4733; Univ. Lib. Camb. Ff. 1. 6, and are printed by Förster, *Archiv*, 104, 297 ff. with collation. He was ignorant of the Trinity text, which would have set the order of stanzas right; as it is, the stanza for Temperance is under the heading for Sapience and *vice versâ*. Four stanzas are in the *Boke of Brome*, pr. Miss Toulmin Smith, 1886, p. 19.

The reason for ascribing the entire Pageant to Lydgate is the uniform style of the entire piece, and the fact that the latter part of it appears as a separate poem in *Harley 2255*, and in Jesus Coll. Camb. 56; Rawl. c. 86; Univ. Lib. Camb. Hh. 4. 12; Harley 2251 (printed Halliwell, *Min. Poems*, pp. 193–8). My title is derived from the use of the word *pagine*, in one heading of R. 3. 21, which points to a presentation of the whole as a school play, like its original by Ausonius.

## Paternoster, Exposition of the.

*Beg.* Atwixe drede and trembling Reverence; 42 stanzas of 8 lines.

MSS.—*Laud 683*; *Harley 2255*; Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 21.

## Paternoster, qui es in celis.

*Beg.* Oure glorious fadyr pat art in heven; 7 stanzas of 8 short lines.

MS.—Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 21.

## Peace, A Praise of.

*Beg.* Mercy and Trouthe mette on an hih mounteyn; 23 stanzas of 8 lines.

MSS.—*Harley 2255*; Jesus Coll. Camb. 56.

Printed by Wright, *Political Poems and Songs*, Rolls Series, II, 209 ff., entitled *On Prospect of Peace*, 1443.

## Pedigree of Henry VI, The Title and.

*Beg.* Troubled hertes to setten in quyet; 314 lines of heroic couplets.

MS.—*Harley 7333*.

Printed by Wright, *Pol. Poems*, II, 131 ff.

## Pilgrimage of the Life of Man, The.

*Beg.* Ye worldly folk avyse yow betymes; 24832 lines in short couplets, heroic couplets and prose.

MSS.—Cotton, Vitellius C xiii, Tiberius A vii; Stowe 952. Edited from these MSS. by Dr. Furnivall, E.E.T.S., E.S., 77, 83, 92; with introduction, etc., by Miss K. Locock.

No one has ever doubted Lydgate's authorship of the *Pilgrimage*. For the internal evidence one may consult Miss Locock's preface, E.E.T.S., E.S., 92.

Prayer for King, Queen and People.

*Beg.* Most souereyne lord, and blisful crist Iesu ; 12 stanzas of 8 lines.  
 MSS.—Harley 2251 ; Addit. 34360 ; Fairfax 16 ; Harley 7578 ; Trin.  
 Coll. Camb. R. 3. 21 (2 copies).  
 Printed from (4) in *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, I, 227. In (1) (2) and (5)  
 9 stanzas, altered to fit Edward IV, (5) Adds Envoy of *Lak of*  
*Stedfastnesse*. The original was intended for Henry VI and his  
 mother. The refrain of the poem is quoted by Shirley in his transla-  
 tion of the *Governance of Princes*, B. M. Addit. 5467, and the poem  
 is ascribed to Lydgate. He is undoubtedly right.

Prayer in Old Age.

*Beg.* All the trespas of my tendre youthe ; 3 stanzas of 8 lines.  
 MSS.—Hatton 73 ; Lambeth 344. The first stanza is identical with one  
 in the *Verses of St. Bernard*, and the rest are exactly in Lydgate's  
 manner.

Prayer to Mary, in whose Help is Affiaunce.

*Beg.* O swetest bawme of grettest excellence ; 3 stanzas of 8 lines.  
 MS.—Rawl. c 48. Agrees perfectly with Lydgate's frequent poems in  
 this theme.

Procession of Corpus Christi.

*Beg.* pis hye feste for to magnefye ; 28 stanzas of 8 lines.  
 MSS.—Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 20 ; Harley 2251 ; Addit. 29729.  
 Printed by Halliwell from (2), M. P., p. 95.

Pyte of Crytes Passioun, The Dolorous.

*Beg.* Erly on morwe and toward nyght also ; 7 stanzas of 8 lines.  
 MS.—Laud 683.

Pyte to the Wretched Synner.

*Beg.* O wretched synner whatsoever thou be ; 4 stanzas of 8 lines.  
 MSS.—Ashmole 59 ; Addit. 29729.

Quene of Hevene, To Mary the.

*Beg.* Quene of hevens of helle eek emperesse ; 10 stanzas of 8 lines.  
 MSS.—Jesus Coll. Camb. 56 ; Harley 2255 ; Hatton 73 ; Lambeth 344 ;  
 Laud 683 ; Tanner 110 (2 copies) Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 21 ; Univ.  
 Lib. Camb. Kk. 1. 6.

Quis Dabit Meo Capiti Fontem Lacrimarum.

*Beg.* Who shal give vnto myn hert a welle ; 19 stanzas of 8 lines.  
 MSS.—Harley 2255 ; Laud 683 ; Jesus Coll. Camb. 56 ; St. John's Coll.  
 Oxf. 56 ; Harley 2251.  
 Printed by Holthausen, *Festschrift* for the German Emperor's Birthday,  
 1908, from 1.

Regina Celi Letare.

*Beg.* O thow ioyfull lyght eternall ye ahyne ; 5 stanzas of 8 lines.  
 MSS.—Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 21 ; Harley 2251 ; Harley 372 ; Univ. Lib.  
 Camb. Kk. 1. 6. A companion-piece to *Ave regina celorum*.

Resoun and Sensuallyte.

*Beg.* To alle folkys vertuose ; 7040 lines in short couplets, incomplete.  
 MSS.—Fairfax 16 (not Shirley's MS. as Sieper says) ; Addit. 29729  
 (Stow, 1558).  
 Edited by E. Sieper, E.E.T.S., E.S., 87, 89. See his introduction on  
 style, metre, etc.

## Rhyme without Accord.

*Beg.* All thyng in kynde desirith thyng i-like; 11 stanzas of 8 lines.

MSS.—Harley 2251; Maitland Folio MS.; Bannatyne MS. 1568.

Printed Chepman and Myllar 1508 (Scots version); Halliwell, *Minor Poems*, from (1) pp. 55–58 (*On the Inconsistency of Men's Actions*).

Stylistic and metrical tests agree in attributing the poem to Lydgate.

Close parallels are the *Order of Fools*, and *They That No While Endure*. But the evidence is hardly conclusive.

## Roundel for Coronation of Henry VI.

*Beg.* Rejoice ye Reames of England and off Fraunce; 10 lines.

MS.—Harley 7333.

Printed by Ritson, *Ancient Songs*, I, 128; by Sir Harris Nicolas, 1823, *Chronicle of London*; Wright, *Political Poems*, II, 314.

## St. Albion and St. Amphabel, Lives of.

*Beg.* To call Clío my dulnesse to redrease; 4724 lines of 7 and 8 line stanzas.

MSS.—Lansdowne 699; Trin. Coll. Oxf. 38; Phillipps 8299; Lincoln Cathedral, I. 57; Inner Temple 511.

Printed at St. Alban's, revised, 1534; by Horstmann from this with collations, 1882 (*Altenglische Legenden*, Neue Folge). The payment "cuidam monacho Burgh' S. Edmundi" for writing this MS. is recorded in Amundesham's *Annals of St. Albans*.

## St. Anne, Invocation to.

*Beg.* Thow first moever þat causest alle thyng; 11 stanzas of 7 lines.

MSS.—Ashmole 59; *Addit.* 16165.

## St. Anne, Praise of.

*Beg.* He that intendeth in his hert to seke; 2 stanzas of 7 lines.

MSS.—Harley 2251; Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 21.

Probably Lydgate's.

## St. Austin at Compton, Legend of.

*Beg.* Lyk as the Bible maketh mencion; 57 stanzas of 7 lines.

MSS.—Harley 2255; Univ. Lib. Camb. Hh. iv, 12; Lincoln Cath. I, 57; Lansdowne 699; Leyden Voss. 9.

Printed at St. Austin's, Canterbury, 4to, before 1520 (no copy known); by Halliwell, M. P., p. 135 f., from (1).

## St. Bernard, Verses of.

*Beg.* O sothfast sterre of al brightnes; 11 stanzas of 8 lines, originally.

MSS.—Laud 683; *Addit.* 29729; Univ. Lib. Camb. Kk. 1. 3. The later copy is enlarged.

## St. Denis, Invocation to.

*Beg.* O þow chosen of god protectour of ffraunce; 9 stanzas of 8 lines, all in 3 rhymes.

MS.—Ashmole 59.

## St. Edmund.

*Beg.* Blyssyd Edmund kyng martir and virgyne; 3698 lines of rhyme royal.

MSS.—Harley 2278, 7333, 4826; Univ. Lib. Camb. Ee. xi, 15; Tanner 347; Harley 367 (part).

St. Edmund, A Glorious Prayer to.

*Beg.* Glorious Edmund kyng of Estynglond ; 12 stanzas of 8 lines.  
*MSS.*—*Laud* 683 ; *Univ. Lib. Camb. Kk.* 1. 6 ; *Harley* 2255 (part).

St. Gabriell, Prayer to.

*Beg.* Blissed Gabriel wich broughtest first tydyng ; 7 stanzas of 8 lines.  
*MS.*—*Laud* 683.

St. George, Legend of.

*Beg.* O yee folk pat heer present be ; 35 stanzas of 7 lines.  
*MSS.*—*Trin. Coll. Camb. R.* 3. 20, *R.* 3. 21 ; *Bodley* 686. For the armorers of London.

St. Giles, Legend of.

*Beg.* Of Agamemnon vnder the large empire ; 46 stanzas of 8 lines.  
*MSS.*—*Laud* 683 ; *Harley* 2255 ; *Lansdowne* 699 ; *Leyden Voss.* 9.  
 Printed Horstmann, *Altenglische Legenden*, Neue Folge, 1882, pp. 371 ff.  
*Lansdowne* says it was written at instance of "dom. Theodorici," perhaps a mistake from seeing the name as Giles's father in *MS.*

Sts. Katherine, Margaret and Magdalene.

*Beg.* Kateryne with glorious Margarete ; 3 stanzas of 8 lines.  
*MS.*—*Harley* 2255.

St. Leonard, To.

*Beg.* Reste and refuge to folk dysconsolat ; 5 stanzas of 8 lines, 1 of 6.  
*MSS.*—*Harley* 2255 ; *Laud* 683 ; *Longleat* 256 (1 given in *Hist. MSS.* Comm. III, 181, as *Verses to St. Leonard*, 1422. Now Henry VI was crowned on this day and year, and these may be our verses).  
 Printed by Halliwell, *Min. P.*, pp. 205–206.

St. Margaret, Legend of.

*Beg.* At the reuerence of seynt Margarete ; 539 lines of rhyme royal, and ballade.  
*MSS.*—*Harley* 1704, 367 ; *Cosin's Lib. Durham V, II, 14* ; *Harley* 2382, imperf. ; *Univ. Lib. Cam. Ll.* v. 18 ; *Bodley* 686.  
 Printed by Horstmann (*Durham MS.*), *loc. cit.* A short-couplet version of St. M.'s life is often confused with the above. Cf. Corser, *Collect. Anglo-Poet.*, 1878, Pt. VIII, p. 385.

St. Michael, To.

*Beg.* O myghell by grace of cryst Iesu ; 1 stanza of 8 lines.  
*MS.*—*Laud* 683.

St. Ositha, To.

*Beg.* Heyl hooly Sitha maide of gret vertu ; 3 stanzas of 8 lines.  
*MS.*—*Harley* 2255. Same refrain as St. Edmund II and St. Thomas I.

St. Petronilla, Legend of.

*Beg.* The parfite life to put in remembraunce ; 20 stanzas of 8 lines, 1 of 4 lines.  
 Printed by Pynson, copy in Huth Library, repr. in *Fugitive Tracts*, Series I. Never before identified as Lydgate's, this piece is absolutely identical in style, rhyme, and metre with his other legends, even to the short *oracio* at the end. St. Petronilla's Hospital is still to be seen at Bury St. Edmunds (see a plate of it in Yates, *Bury St. Edmunds*, *Append.*), and St. Petronilla's head was one of the relics shown in the Abbey.

## St. Robert of Bury, To.

*Beg.* O Blyssid Robert Innocent and virgyne; 5 stanzas of 8 lines.

MS.—*Laud 683*. St. Robert, martyrizd by Jews, 20 June, 1181, acc. to *Cronica Buriensis, Jocelini*; Arnold, *Memorials*, etc., I, 223.

## St. Thomas, To. I.

*Beg.* Blissed Thomas rubyfyed with blood; 2 stanzas of 8 lines.

MS.—*Laud 683*.

## St. Thomas, Invocation to. II.

*Beg.* Synguler shepperde gardeyn of cristis folde; 15 stanzas of 8 lines.

MS.—Tanner 110 (2 copies, neither complete). Never before ascribed to Lydgate, this prayer, identical in its refrain with several of Lydgate's prayers (St. Edmund, etc.), bears every mark of his style, metre, and rhyme.

## St. Ursula, To.

*Beg.* Ye Britoun martirs famous in parfitnesse; 3 stanzas of 8 lines.

MSS.—*Laud 683*; *Harley 2255*; Jesus Coll. Camb. 56.

An immensely popular saint; a Latin life of her was translated by Edmund Hatfield and printed by W. de Worde (copy in Chatsworth).

## Say the Best and never Repent.

*Beg.* Who seith the best shal never repent; 21 stanzas of 8 lines.

MS.—*Laud 598*. This poem like *Ram's Horn* and others is in a defective state of metre. The original was probably in short lines. Our only copy is partly in long lines. The poem, coming next *Quene of Hevene* in the MS., bears every evidence of Lydgatean authorship.

## Secreta Secretorum. Secrees of Olde Philosoffres, or Governance of Kings and Princes.

*Beg.* God almyghty save and conferme our kyng; 1491 lines of rhyme royal. Ascribed to Lydgate by the continuator.

MSS.—Sloane 2027, 3464; Lansdowne 285; *Harley 2251*, 4826; *Arundel 59*; *Addit. 14408*, 34360; *Laud 416*, 673; *Ashmole 46*; *McLean MSS.* (*Fitzwilliam 182*, 183); *Trin. Coll. Camb. O. 3. 41*.

Printed by Steele from Sloane 3484, E.E.T.S. Dr. Theodor Prosiegel wrote a thesis, Munich, 1903, correcting this edition, and giving collations. He could not use the *McLean MSS.*, and was ignorant of the *Trinity codex*, which is imperfect.

## See myche, Say Little.

*Beg.* See myche say little and lerne to soffar in tyme; 5 stanzas of 7 lines.

MSS.—Corp. Chr. Coll. 203; *Addit. 29729*. The first MS. titles the poem *Proverbium R. Stokys*, but is not to be trusted. In the same MS. Chaucer's *Truth* is entitled *Proverbium Scogani*. The piece is in Lydgate's style, and Stow is probably right.

## Semblable, Every Thing to his.

*Beg.* Trete every man as he is disposed; 26 stanzas of 8, in all.

MSS.—*Ashmole 59*; *Harley 2251*.

## SERPENT OF DIVISION.

*Beg.* Whilom as olde bokes . . . ; 10 folios of prose, ballade, 3 stanzas of 8.

MSS.—*Yelverton 35* (*Lord Calthorpe's*); *Harvard MS. AR 5*; *Pepys 2006* (*J. de B.* which I take to mean John of Bury); *McLean 182*.

Printed by Treveris, O. Rogers (1559), and E. Alde, 1590.

Servant of Cupid Forsaken, The.

*Beg.* Ful longe I haue a seruant be ; 9 stanzas of 8 short lines.

*MSS.*—*B. M. Addit.* 16165. The title of the New Year's Gift belongs properly to this piece, I think. On the margin Shirley writes, "Be stille Daun Johan suche was your fortune."

So as the Crabbe Goth Forward.

*Beg.* pis worlde is ful of stabulnesse ; 7 stanzas of 8 lines.

*MSS.*—*Harley* 2251 ; *Bodley* 686 ; *Addit.* 29729 ; *Trin. Coll. Camb. R.* 3. 20 (with French original).

Printed from (1) by Halliwell, *Minor Poems*, pp. 58–60. One stanza in *Harley* 2382.

Soteltes at the Coronation Banquet of Henry VI, The.

*Beg.* Loo here twoo kynges right perfite and right good ; 3 stanzas of 8 lines.

*MSS.*—*Lansdowne* 285 ; *Cotton*, Julius B I, an altered version in *Fabyan's Chronicle*.

These stanzas, almost identical with certain stanzas of the Ballade to King Henry VI, and written for the same occasion as the Roundel and the Prayer, are certainly by the same man.

STANS PUER AD MENSAM.

*Beg.* My dere Child first thyself enable ; 14 stanzas of 8 lines.

*MSS.*—*Harley* 2251 ; *Jesus Coll. Camb.* 56 ; *Lambeth* 853 ; *Lansdowne* 699 ; *Leyden Voss.* 9 ; *Ashmole* 59 ; *Rawl. c.* 48 ; *Cotton*, Caligula A II ; *Harley* 4011 (part) ; *Laud* 683 ; *Bodley* 686 ; *Balliol* 354 ; *Univ. Lib. Camb. Hh.* iv, 12 ; *Stowe* 982 (written as prose) ; *Addit.* 5467 ; *Rawl. poet.* 32 ; *Bodley* 48 ; *Ashmole* 61 (altered).

Printed by W. de Worde ; by Halliwell, *Rel. Ant.* ; by Furnivall in *Babees Book*, with Latin original ; though a French version may have been Lydgate's model. Two stanzas are in *Pem. Coll.* 120.

A certain scholar once announced he would prove this poem not Lydgate's and so Mr. Lee says, in his article on Lydgate, that the monk's claim to this poem is disputed. Inasmuch as Lydgate names himself in the last line, it is rather hard to see what sort of a case will be presented. That was some fifteen years ago, and his arguments, so far as I know, have yet to appear.

Star of Jacob, To Mary, the.

*Beg.* O sterre of Iacob and glorie of Israell ; 7 stanzas of 7 lines.

*MSS.*—*Harley* 372 ; *Laud* 683 ; *Trin. Coll. Camb. R.* 3. 21.

Stella celi extirpauit.

*Beg.* Thow hevenly queene of grace our lodesterre ; 4 stanzas of 8 lines.

*MSS.*—*Harley* 2251 ; *Addit.* 34360 ; *Harley* 2255 ; *Trin. Coll. Camb. R.* 3. 21 ; *Jesus Coll. Camb.* 56 ; *Rawl. c.* 48 has an altered version, which I think may also be due to Lydgate.

STORY OF THEBES.

*Beg.* Whan bright Phebus passed was the Ram ; 4716 lines of heroic couplets.

*MSS.*—*Addit.* 18632 ; *Cotton*, Appendix, xxvii ; *Reg.* 18 D ii ; *Lambeth* 742 ; *Harley* 262 ; *Laud* 416 ; *Arundel* 119 ; *Addit.* 29729 ; *Trin. Coll. Camb.* 1138 ; *Pepys* 2011 (*Magd. Coll. Camb.*).

Printed at end of Speght Chaucer 1561, etc. In press for E.E.T.S., which will no doubt give a more complete list of MSS.

## Te Deum Laudamus.

*Beg.* Te Deum Laudamus to the lord souerayn ; 13 stanzas of 8 lines.

MS.—*Harley 2255.*

## Temple of Glas.

*Beg.* For pouzt constreint and greuous heuynes ; 1403 lines, heroic couplets and rhyme royal.

MSS.—Tanner 346 ; Fairfax 16 ; Bodley 638 ; Pepys 2006 ; Camb. Univ. Lib. Gg. 4, 27 ; *Addit. 16165* ; Longleat 258 ; Sloane 1212 (pt.).

Printed Caxton 1478, W. de Worde, (3 prints) Pynson, Berthelet ; reprinted Camb. Univ. Texts, ed. Schick, E.E.T.S., E.S., 60, with invaluable material for Lydgate students. For the Sloane MS. fragment, see *Mod. L. Ass. Ann. Pub.*, March 1908.

## Ten Saints, Prayers to.

*Beg.* Blissed Denys of Athenys chief sonne ; 13 stanzas of 8 lines.

MSS.—Jesus Coll. Camb. 56 ; *Harley 2255* ; *Laud 683.*

Written as two ballades with envoys, one for male, one for female saints.

## Testament of Lydgate, The.

*Beg.* O how holsum and glad is the memorie ; 240 + 182 + 184 + 147 + 144 = 897 lines, in stanzas of 7 and 8 lines.

MSS.—*Harley 218* ; *Harley 2255*, 2728 ; *Laud 683* ; Leyden Voss. 9 ; *Addit. 34193* (part) ; Philipps 8299 (part) ; Rawl. c. 86 (part) ; *Harley 2251* (part) ; R. 3. 19 (part) ; Jesus Coll. Camb. 56 ; Scots version of Pt. v in Arundel 285.

Printed by Pynson ; in *Minor Poems* by Halliwell.

## That now is Hay sometyme was Gras.

*Beg.* Ther is full lytell sikernes ; 17 stanzas of 8 short lines.

MSS.—*Addit. 29729* (long title quoted from some earlier MS.) ; Rawl. c. 86 (lacks folio).

## The Cok Hath Lowe Shoon.

*Beg.* Sum man goth stille of wisdom & renoun ; 21 stanzas of 8 lines.

MS.—*Harley 2255.*

Printed by Wright, *P. P. and S.*, II ; by Halliwell, *Minor Poems*, 150–156.

## They That No While Endure.

*Beg.* This wyde world is so large of space ; 9 stanzas of 5 lines.

MSS.—*Harley 2255* ; *Addit. 36983* ; Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 19.

The refrain of the poem is found in the *Fall of Princes*, I, 12, and III, 10, while one stanza, No. 3 of (1), is nearly identical with one in the *Order of Foots.*

## Thoroughfare of Woe, A.

*Beg.* Lyft up the Ieen of your aduertence ; 24 stanzas of 8 lines.

MSS.—*Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 20* ; *Harley 2251* ; *Addit. 29729.*

Printed by Halliwell, *Minor Poems*, pp. 122–8.

## Timor Mortis Conturbat Me.

*Beg.* So as I lay this othir niht ; 16 stanzas of 8 short lines.

MS.—*Harley 2255.*

TROY BOOK.

*Beg.* O myghty Mars that with thy sterne liht; 30117 lines, heroic completa, envoy in ballade.

MSS.—Cotton, Augustus A iv; Digby 232; Arundel 99; Royal 18 D ii; Trin. Coll. Camb. O. 5. 2; Digby 230; Rylands; St. John's Oxf. VI; Royal 18 D vi; Exeter Coll. Oxf. Douce 148, Univ. Lib. Camb. Kk. v. 30; Harvard Univ.; Tollemache; Cath. Lib. Gloucester; Philipps; Bristol City; Rawl. c. 446, poet. 144.

Prints by Pynson, Redman. Edited by Dr. H. Bergen for E. E. T. S. (Pt. I printed, E. S., No. 97).

Tyed with a Lyne.

*Beg.* The more I go, the further I am behynde; 12 stanzas of 8 lines.

MS.—Harley 2251.

Printed Halliwell, *Minor Poems*, p. 74, see *Anglia*, 28, 4-5.

The general similarity of this to *Order of Fools*, *Rhyme without Accord*, etc., inclines me to accept this as Lydgate's.

Upon a Cross.

*Beg.* Upon a cros naylid I was for thee; 6 stanzas of 8 lines.

MSS.—*Addit.* 29729; Univ. Lib. Kk. 1. 6; *Harley* 2255; *Laud* 633; Jesus Coll. Camb. 56; Rawl. poet. 32; Caligula A ii; *Laud* 598; Univ. Lib. Camb. Hh. 4. 12.

Printed from the last by Dr. Furnivall, E. E. T. S., 1866 (Pol., Rel. and Love Poems). Philipps 8269 alone has the 6th stanza, not certainly genuine. Richard Rolle's version (?) is in MS. Rawl. poet. 175.

Valentine to Her I Love Best of All.

*Beg.* Seynt Valentyne of custume yeere by yeere; 20 stanzas of 7 lines.

MSS.—*Trin. Coll. Camb. R.* 3. 20; *Addit.* 29729; *Harley* 2251; *Ashmole* 59; Rawl. poet. 36.

Vertu, A Song of.

*Beg.* As of hony men gadren oft swetnesse; 16 stanzas of 8 lines.

MSS.—*Harley* 2255, 2251; Jesus Coll. Camb. 56; Rawl. c. 86; Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 21; Univ. Lib. Camb. Kk. 1. 6; Philipps 8299; in all but (2) of 13 stanzas.

Printed by Halliwell from (1) *Minor Poems*, pp. 216-221.

Vexilla Regis Prodeunt.

*Beg.* Royal Baneris Unrolled of the Kyng; 9 stanzas of 8 lines.

MS.—Univ. Lib. Camb. Kk. 1. 6.

The resemblance of this translation to Lydgate's other work of the kind is striking.

Virgin, Verses to the.

MS.—St. John's Coll. Oxf. 56, fragment, as the leaves are torn.

These are probably Lydgate's, so far as style and rhyme can be tested.

Wikked Tong will Deem Amiss, A.

*Beg.* Considre weel with every circumstaunce; 20 stanzas of 7 lines.

MSS.—*Harley* 2251; Univ. Lib. Camb. Ff. 1. 6; *Trin. Coll. Camb. R.* 3. 20; *Bodley* 686; *Addit.* 29729.

Printed Thynne, 1532 Chaucer; Skeat, *Oxford Chaucer*, VII, as a *Ballade of Good Counsel*.

World is Variable, This.

*Beg.* Toward Aurora in the monthe of decembre; 10 stanzas of 8 lines.

MS.—*Harley* 2255.

In all, prose and verse as nearly as I can estimate, 145,198 lines.



In the words of poor berated Ritson, this is the "fullest and best list" of the works which after two years' close study of the poems of the fifteenth century, I can give out confidently as Lydgate's. Like Ritson, I do not claim plenary inspiration for my compilation. In all but a dozen cases, I have the word of scribes contemporary, or almost contemporary with Lydgate. In every case I have a poem conforming to the general style of the monk in his self-attested pieces, and to the rhyme-scheme which he followed with marvellous accuracy.

I now present a list of works ascribed to Lydgate at some time or another, which I cannot accept as his. I take this up historically.

Three poems ascribed to Lydgate in contemporary manuscripts must be questioned, in spite of my reverence for him who penned the *Explicit quod Lydgate*. Two of these are *A Satirical Description of His Lady*,<sup>1</sup> in MS. *Harley 2255*, and *Quia Amore Languo*, MS. *Ashmole 59*.<sup>2</sup> I cannot believe that Lydgate ever sank to the abominable filth of the one, or rose to the sublimity of the other. The former has the rhymes *enter: behynde*, and *day: eey* (egg); it is highly alliterative.<sup>3</sup> Admitting that Hoccleve may have written a poem of the type,<sup>4</sup> which is a common one, and that even religious monks could condescend to ribaldry, I yet cannot believe that Lydgate ever attempted to outdo all his peers in poetry in obscenity, such as this poem reeks of.<sup>5</sup> I believe that the scribe who towards the end of his volume was filling with non-Lydgatian poetry, put an *Explicit quod Lydgate* to this piece by inadvertence.<sup>6</sup>

The latter poem is generally admitted to be the highest poem of its type in English; the finest expression of the Virgin's sorrow. I should be only too glad to claim it as Lydgate's, but Shirley when he wrote *Ashmole 59*, was at least 85, and a little forgetful of details, as is shown by the remarkably poor versions which fill

<sup>1</sup> With the refrain, "When she hath on her Hood of Green."

<sup>2</sup> And elsewhere.

<sup>3</sup> It is printed by Halliwell, *Minor Poems*, No. 34: the rhymes occur p. 203 and p. 204. As a sample of alliteration I quote

p. 199, "As bright as bugyll or elles bolace  
Shorn as a sheep with sherys keen  
Whenne the sunne shyneth sheen."

<sup>4</sup> So Dr. Furnivall says, and prints it, E.E.T.S., E.S., 61, p. xxxviii. But Hoccleve was mad for some years, as we know.

<sup>5</sup> There are several parallels in Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 19, later printed in Stow's Chaucer.

<sup>6</sup> I must note, however, Dr. Koeppl's acceptance of the poem as genuine, *Eng. St.*, 24, 290.

this MS. There are two versions with this refrain, of which the first is ascribed by Shirley to Lydgate. The other version is a moralization of the Song of Solomon, as a Complaint of Christ.<sup>1</sup> I would welcome either poem into the Lydgate Canon, on better proof than Shirley's rubric for the one. In this version I note the assonance whom : moon, line 29 ; and the form pou has, line 48, as not in Lydgate's ordinary usage.

The third poem *Dilectus meus*, or *Rex Salamon*, is ascribed to Lydgate in the same Shirley Ashmole 59. It appears also in Harley 2251 with more stanzas. The poem has the penultimate rhyme of -oun, and its irregularity of metre makes me unwilling to admit it as genuine.

*Treatise of a Galaunt ; Ballade of a Galaunt*, or the *Gallande Ballade*.—Bishop John Alcock (d. 1500), in a sermon preached in his old age, attributed this poem to Lydgate, saying that he remembered it in his youth. Alcock was about 19 years old when Lydgate died. It is of course not absolutely certain that the Ballade we possess is in the original form, or precisely the one Alcock had in mind, though the refrain he quotes is that of our poem. Dr. Furnivall and Mr. Carew-Hazlitt printed the poem as descriptive of the times of Henry VIII, from early prints, but it exists in a MS. of Edward IV's reign.<sup>2</sup> It belongs certainly to the latter half of the fifteenth century. It is written ostensibly against those who brought over French fashions from the lost English possessions in France, but is really an attack on all classes of society, a satire on the times.

"So moche rychesse in araye, and so moche nede ;  
So many bedes borne, and so lytell devocyon ;  
So moche fasting for hungre, and so lytell mede ;  
So moche paynted worship, and so lytell reason ;  
I trowe no man hath sene in this region."

Now it is wholly against probability that Lydgate, who delighted in fine array and in rich patrons, who was a member of the most favoured monastery in England, who wrote poem after poem to encourage "painted worship," should have indulged in any such bold tirade as this. The style of the entire poem is bitter, popular, abrupt, and different from Lydgate's. In rhymes I note 50, intoxicacyon : abominacyon : desolacyon ; 170, folye : Babylynye :

<sup>1</sup> Both are printed by Dr. Furnivall, E.E.T.S. 15, pp. 148-150, 151-159.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 21. Printed by Carew-Hazlitt, *E. Pop. Poetry*, III, 147 ff., with note on early prints, and by Furnivall in *Odd Ballads*.

glorye; 214, dye (inf.) : perseuerauntly; as typical of a practice at variance with Lydgate's. The metre of the poem is of that rough and irregular kind, typical of English poetry two generations from Chaucer.

*The Nightingale.*—In a MS. written by Humphrey Newton, said to have been born in 1466 (Hist. MSS. Com. 2nd Rept. 80), a poem on the nightingale is found. The old table of contents describes probably this article as "Vera fabula quam Johannes Ludgate faciebat et in octavo versu," but the writer of the report thinks this refers to a lost poem. In the other two MSS., both of earlier date, no author's name is mentioned.<sup>1</sup> Bishop Tanner is the first to mention this poem as Lydgate's, evidently by confusion with *A saying of the Nightingale*. Our only external evidence is thus a note by a scribe about 1500, and that not absolutely certain.

The internal evidence points strongly against Lydgate as author. A reference to the young duke of Warwick as dead shows that the poem is later than 1445. Lydgate was then in his old age, and the poems of his old age are noted for their digressive vagueness of structure. Yet this poem is most carefully constructed, highly artistic, quite compact, almost without rhyme-tags, and with a remarkable run-on line. I quote a typical stanza:—

"The oure of none, as Jewes hym desyred  
 Thirled and persed thorgh his hert and aide  
 He seyng then 'Consummatum est,' expired;  
 And, heed enclyned, the gost yaf vp that tyde  
 Unto the fader. The sunne, compelled to hyde  
 His bemys bright, no lenger myght endure  
 To see the deth of the auctor of nature."

One has only to compare this version of the *Philomela* with Lydgate's own version, to see how unready his style is for such a stanza. His own version is digressive, indirect, incompact, and finally wanders entirely away from the artistic scheme.

Moreover, in rhyming -y, -ye, indifferently the poem goes absolutely against the usage of Lydgate's old age. I note lines 103, and 285, as examples of this. They are particularly bad, for they contain cases of the infinitive in -ie rhyming with adverbs in -ly. An even better test is afforded by the rhymes *séson* : *réson*,

<sup>1</sup> Printed by O. Glauning for the E.E.T.S., E.S., 80. He was unaware of Newton's MS.

22, sésou : résou : enchésou 58. In no poem of Lydgate's poems, acknowledged as his by contemporaries can a paroxytone rhyme of these words be found, though they appear everywhere in his poems in oxytone rhyme, *e. g.* sesón : toun, etc. These considerations seem more important to me than the scribe's possible word of 1500, and I feel justified in excluding the poem.<sup>1</sup>

Stephen Hawes.—In the *Pastime of Pleasure*, ll. 1282 ff., Hawes enumerates certain works of his master. These are (given by title or description):—

- |                                   |  |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| 1. Life of our Lady. <sup>2</sup> | 6. Troy Book.  |
| 2. Life of St. Edmund.            | 7. Assembly of Gods (or perhaps Reson and Sensuallyte). <sup>3</sup> |
| 3. Fall of Princes.               | 8. Temple of Glas.   |
| 4. Churl and the Bird.            |  |
| 5. Court of Sapience.             |  |

Two works call for comment, the *Court of Sapience* and the *Assembly of Gods*. On the *Court of Sapience*, I may refer to Dr. Burkart's thesis on Hawes's poem, 1899, which summarizes the story. He claims that this poem is Hawes's chief source.

My objections to the *Court of Sapience* are, that we have no external testimony until this statement of Hawes, and that the style of the poem is quite different from Lydgate's, being direct, forceful and yet a trifle pedantic. It is written by a man of very different personality from the modest monk of Bury; he is assertive, and preëminently the master. The metre of the poem is vigorous, but decidedly not so smooth as Lydgate's. Moreover, there are rhymes totally at variance with Lydgate's universal practice. In stanzas 1, 14, 30, 42 and others there may be observed the strong preference for the rhyme -ácioun, proparoxytonic. And in the copy of the poem in MS. Harley 2251, fol. 274b, l. 9-10, there is the rhyme victórye : drýe. Lydgate, as I have said, never rhymed the word except as victórye. Finally, throughout the poem we can find but

<sup>1</sup> Space prevents me from entering in detail upon a refutation of all Glauning's arguments for Lydgate's authorship. Suffice it to say, that he shows the poem to be Lydgatian, but not Lydgate's. The rhymes I call in question are regular with Benedict Burgh, cf. *Cato*, *Archiv*, 115, ll. 282-4, 565-7-8. Why could he not have written this poem?

<sup>2</sup> He speaks of the "conversacyon of our lady," which I take to mean "conduct."

<sup>3</sup> "And betwene vertue and the lyfe rycyous  
Of goddes and goddes, a boke solacyous  
He did compyle."

This has hitherto been taken to apply to the *Assembly of Gods*, but it is equally true of *Reson* and *Sensuallyte*.

few rhyme-tags, metrical conveniences indispensable so far as Lydgate was concerned.

Somewhat before Hawes, Wynkyn de Worde, in his 1498 Chaucer had printed the *Assembly of Gods*, and assigned it to Lydgate in his colophon. If then Hawes's reference above refers to this poem it may be due chiefly to this print. The poem exists in a MS. of not earlier than 1463, without ascription, and in another MS. probably copied from the print. Thus Wynkyn de Worde affords us our only external evidence, and this only in his first print; he took pains to omit the colophon in his second and third prints. Dr. Triggs mentions as confirmatory of this evidence the "extemporal play of the *Seven Deadlie Sinns*, contrived by Richard Tarleton and performed before King Henry VI (v. description by Collier, *Hist. Dram. Poet.*, III, p. 198). Our monk Lydgate is supposed to regulate the performance." Now Tarleton was an Elizabethan, and Henry VI merely an early Sly who watches a play. One might as well contend that Gower wrote *Chronicle Histories* because Shakespeare employed him as Chorus.

It cannot be denied that the *Assembly of Gods* is equipped with a full Lydgatian stock of phrases and mannerisms. They are, however, of the most easily imitated type, and any of the evidence Dr. Triggs puts forth for Lydgate's authorship could be shown to be true of the continuation of the *Secrees*, written after Lydgate's death.

Metrically, however, the poem is quite impossible. It is harsh and unreadable; Lydgate is always smooth. There are forty-seven alexandrines, and thirty-four lines of eight syllables, though the poem is written in rhyme royal. The rhymes are incredibly bad. In 2000 lines we have strong : hand, 260; am : man, 86; than : doon, 1217; come : oblyuyone, 1337; bedde : understonde, 2040; and others of the like. In over twenty out of forty cases the -ye rhymes with final -y. Victorie rhymes partye, 1009; companye, 1190; and many words in -y. We find circumcysion : derision, 1205; reson : seson, 1259. In other words, this poem is the product of another age than Lydgate's, and certainly belongs to the latter half of the century.

But stronger even than these philological tests, on which alone I should never rely, are the tests of style. Nowhere in our known Lydgate have we this rough, careless, brisk, vigorous, racy, colloquial telling. Was it Lydgate who wrote of Diana and Neptune in his vision,

559. "This was the furst syght that ever I theym sawe,  
And yef I never do efte, I rekke not a strawe ;"

or of Minerva, the chaste goddess,

349. "She weryd ii bokelers oon by her syde  
That other ye wote where ;"

or spoke of going to dine as "falling aboard," l. 248? Here is a typical line in the poem,

21. "He must nedys go that the devell dryues."

Pan is (325)

- "brechyd like a bere,  
With a gret tarbox hangyng by hys syde."

We are in a different atmosphere from the cloister of Bury throughout the poem. Here are war-cries, rough-and-ready repartee, the slang of the day ; in a word the life of the Roses. We are in the most realistic allegory ever written.

- "What seyde Ryghtwysnes, thow olde dotyng foole,"

or again,

- "Is hit thus? what! in the devellys date!"

One might with equal reason contend, as Peacham stated in the *Compleat Gentleman* that Lydgate was "the authour of that bitter satyre Piers Plowman."

John Bale was apparently the first to make a Lydgate canon. In his *Scriptores Brit. Centur. Quinta*, fol. 202 f. (1548), is a list of 14 pieces, and in his MS. note-book are many more entries.<sup>1</sup> These were incorporated in the later edition of 1559, from which I quote, p. 586. (Titles italicized are of spurious or unknown works ; from this point on through the chapter.)

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. St. Edmund.   | 7. <i>De coelorum gaudiis</i> (Multi sunt qui coelorum gaudia cup). <sup>3</sup>          |
| 2. <i>Vita regis Ethelstani</i> (Pro. solidiore operis firm). <sup>2</sup> | 8. Parlement of Foules.   |
| 3. St. Fremund (Book III of St. Edmund).                                   | 9. <i>Jesu thy sweetnes</i> . <sup>4</sup>  |
| 4. Life of our Lady.   | 10. <i>Praecepta moralia</i> . (Possibly Burgh's Cato, or some of Lydgate's moral poems.) |
| 5. St. Albon.  | 11. Secrees.  |
| 6. Dance of Machabre.  |   |

<sup>1</sup> Printed Oxford, 1902, in *Anecdota Oxoniensia*.

<sup>2</sup> Unknown.

<sup>3</sup> Not known.

<sup>4</sup> This lovely lyric, printed by Dr. Furnivall in E.E.T.S. 24, 8-11, is in stanzas of 8 lines of 4 accents, *a b a b a b a b*. It is highly alliterative, and of the fourteenth century. In MS. Rawl. poet. 175 (c. 1370) it appears in a northern dialect.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>12. Secrees (another part).<br/>         13. Calendar.<br/>         14. Churl and Bird.<br/>         15. Prayeres of Lydgate.<sup>1</sup><br/>         16. <i>Proprietates nationum</i>.<sup>2</sup><br/>         17. Arthur (Fall, VIII. 24).<br/>         18. The Round Table (Fall, VIII, 24).<br/>         19. Guy of Warwick.<br/>         20. Guy and Colbrand (Guy II).<br/>         21. <i>De arte militari</i>.<sup>3</sup><br/>         22. <i>De officio regis</i>.<sup>4</sup><br/>         23. Testamentum.<br/>         24. <i>Smith and his Dame</i>.<sup>5</sup><br/>         25. Horse, Goose and Sheep.<br/>         26. Dietary.<br/>         27. <i>Fabula Duorum Mercatrum</i>.<br/>         28. <i>De fortuna</i>.<sup>6</sup><br/>         29. Contra iudicium temerarium (Fall, I, 13).</p> | <p>30. Inter rationem et tristiciam.<br/>         (Resoun and Sensuallite?)<br/>         31. Mass.<br/>         32. <i>Præceptiones Gallicae linguæ</i>.<sup>7</sup><br/>         33. <i>Aeglogas seu Bucolicæ</i>.<sup>7</sup><br/>         34. <i>Poemata et Odas</i>.<sup>7</sup><br/>         35. <i>Satyras et alia poemata</i>.<sup>7</sup><br/>         Ista ex Ioanne Boccacio et aliis<br/>         authoribus transtulit :<br/>         36. Fall of Princes.<br/>         37. <i>Assembly of Gods</i>.<br/>         38. Thebes.<br/>         39. <i>De genealogia Deorum</i>, lib. xv.<sup>7</sup><br/>         40. Troy Book.<br/>         41. Boethius de consolatione.<br/>         42. <i>Dantis opuscula</i>.<sup>7</sup><br/>         43. <i>Petrarchæ quaedam</i>.<sup>7</sup></p> |
|--|---|

Bale also hints at tragedies and comedies, Latin verses and prose works.

Bale's knowledge seems drawn chiefly from prints.<sup>8</sup>

John Stow's List. At the end of the *Siege of Thebes*, in the 1598 Chaucer of Speght, John Stow set his list of Lydgate's works.<sup>9</sup> Stow's information came from his own Manuscripts, and it is in general accurate. I give the list.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>1. Fall of Princes.<br/>         2. Troy Book.<br/>         3. Pilgrimage.<br/>         4. Secrees.<br/>         5. Reason and Sensuality.</p> | <p>6. <i>Assembly of Gods</i>.<sup>10</sup><br/>         7. <i>Court of Sapience</i>.<sup>10</sup><br/>         8. Kalender.<br/>         9. <i>Petigree of the Emperours</i>,<sup>11</sup> from<br/>         Caesar to Dacian.</p> |
|---|---|

<sup>1</sup> From the de Worde print. They include envoys from the Fall, *Loke wel thy Mirour*, *Consulo Quisquis*, and Chaucer's *Fortune and Truth*. This article is repeated in later lists. See Schick, *Temple of Glas*, p. clii, note.

<sup>2</sup> Not known, unless a half-dozen lines in Tr. Coll. R. 3. 19, be these.

<sup>3</sup> This may be any one of several translations of Vegetius. A metrical one is now in Pembroke Coll. Camb. 243.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps part of the *Secrees*.

<sup>5</sup> The well-known fablian.

<sup>6</sup> Probably Sir Thos. More's poem on Fortune, recently reprinted by the E.E.T.S. from Balliol 354.

<sup>7</sup> I can find no MS. sources of these items.

<sup>8</sup> As may be seen by looking up these titles. He mentions practically no works not printed.

<sup>9</sup> A Catalogue of translations and Poeticall deuises in English mitre or verse, done by John Lidgate Monke of Bury, whereof some are extant in print, the residue in the custodie of him that first caused this Siege of Thebes to be added to these works of G. Chaucer.

<sup>10</sup> See above.

<sup>11</sup> Not known.

10. Kings of England.
11. Dance of Machabre.
12. Cristis Passioun.
13. *Psalms of the passion.*
14. *Of Christ's passion.*
15. Misericordias Domini.
16. *Magnificencia Ecclesiae.*
17. St. Bernard.
18. Paternoster.
19. Aue Marie.
20. *Gaudite iusti in domino.*
21. Prayer for King, Queen and People.
22. *Conditor alme sidrum.*
23. Gloriosa dicta sunt.
24. De Profundis.
25. Deus in nomine tuo.
26. Letabundus.
27. Testament, part I.
28. Benedic anima mea.
29. Amasias to Iohas (Fall of Princes, II, 16).
30. Fifteen Oes to Iesu.
31. Magnificat (Life of Our Lady, c. XXII).
32. Aue jesse virgula.
33. Fifteen joyes.
34. Life of our Lady.
35. *Life of St. Anne.*
36. Pyte and the sinner.
37. Image of our Ladie.
38. St. Albon.
39. How the plague was ceased in Rome.
40. St. Margaret.
41. *Life of St. Denis.*
42. *Life of St. Barbara.*
43. *Life of St. Sithe.*
44. St. George.
45. *Exhortation [against] the 7 deadly sinnes.*
46. *Praier to bedward.*
47. Seuen graces for seuen estates.
48. Offices of all estates.
49. Seuen parts of wisdom.
50. Founders of the 7 sciences artifi-  
ciall.
51. Seuen Sciences called Liberall.
52. Authours of 7 Sciences.
53. Disposition of the 7 planets.
54. Disposition of the 12 signes.
55. Disposition of the 4 elements.
56. Disposition of the 4 complections.
57. Disposition of the 4 seasons of the  
yere.
58. Disposition of the world.
59. Peace, Praise of.
60. Dietary.
61. (Fall. VIII, 20), Stable as a Stone.
62. Procession of Corp. Christi.
63. Fall of Princes, III, 4 (Ballad  
Royall against lechery).
64. Saying of the Nightingale.
65. Ballad on the Coronation.
66. Fall of Princes, II, 31 (on Rome).
67. Measure, Song of.
68. Ram's Horn.
69. Nine Properties of Wine.
70. Amor vincit omnia.
71. That now is hay.
72. Four things.
73. Wikked Tong.
74. Thoroughfare of Woe.
75. Mydsomer Rose.
76. Disposition of women (Double-  
nesse ?).
77. Order of Fooles.
78. What maketh the world so vari-  
able.
79. Semblables.
80. Letter to Gloucester.
81. *Epitaph on Humfrey Duke of  
Glocester.*
82. Stella coeli extirpauit.
83. Consulo quisquis.
84. Horns Away.
85. Haste.
86. Epistle to Sybille.
87. Mumming at Bishopswood.
88. Mumming for the Mercers.
89. Mumming for the Goldsmiths.
90. Mumming at Eltham.
91. Mumming at Hertford.
92. Mumming at London.
93. Mumming at Windsor.
94. New Year's Gift of an Eagle.
95. So as the Crabbe goeth forward.
96. Valentine to Her I love best.
97. Ballade to Her that hath all  
virtues.
98. A Gentlewoman's Lament.



- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 99. Gloucester's Marriage.<br>100. Jak Hare.<br>101. <i>Gallaunt</i> .<br>102. <i>Æsop's Fables</i> .<br>103. Churl and the bird.<br>104. Horse, sheepe, and goose.<br>105. Gwy Earl of Warwick, etc.<br>106. Prouerbs of Lidgate (from W. de W.'s print).<br>107. Departyng of Chaucer. | 108. Bycorne and Chichefache.<br>109. Serpent of Diuision.<br>110. Temple of Glasse.<br>111. St. Edmund.<br>112. Entry into London.<br>113. Testament.<br>(Added to these the Story of Thebes, just printed, makes 114 works). |
|--|--|

There is no doubt but that Stow, in the composition of this list, had recourse to the manuscripts in his own possession. Chief among these are the MSS. now known as B. M. Addit. 29729 (his own MS. written 1558<sup>1</sup>) and Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 21. In the former MS. are the pieces noted on his list, Nos. 7, 14, 17, 31, 71, 70, 72, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 65, 69, 68, 23, 62, 64, 63, 39, 40, 27, 30, 36, 37, 83, 73, 97, 98, 99, 114; in the latter MS. are Nos. 7, 34, 33, 32, 13, 12, 15, 26, 35, 10, 20, 101, 18, 51, 45, 46, 14, 11, 16, 47-58, 59, 83, 75, 105, 44.

Now Stow, while deserving all our gratitude, has no great claim to authority on question of authorship. Just as in MS. Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 19, we find Chaucer's name added by Stow to one piece of courtly poetry after another, so in MS. R. 3. 21, a codex largely in the same, we find Lydgate's name added to one religious poem after another. Chaucer wrote all the worldly poems, Lydgate all the godly ones, seems to be his canon. Now these MSS. date from late in Edward IV's reign, and consequently contain much poetry of a later date than Lydgate. The poems Nos. 13, 16, 20, 35, 45, 46, 101 in Stow's list are clearly of this later period, since they break all Lydgate's rhyming habits, while closely imitating his general style.<sup>2</sup> None of these poems, it should be said, is ascribed

<sup>1</sup> An excellent MS. nevertheless and faithful copy of older texts.

<sup>2</sup> No. 14, *Psalmi passionis*, Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 21. Rhymes glory: prophesy: soly 10; consecracioun: obseruacioun fol. 175 b; temptacioun: dylectacioun 176; proteccoun: dyleccoun 176 b; prophesy: bodyly 176 b, and many others. No. 20, *Gaudite iusti*, is of the same type. No. 35, Life of St. Anne, same MS., fundacioun: elacioun: formacioun 224; onely: magnify 224 b; thornes: ywys 225; bauntyd: worshippyd 226; virgyne: digne 226 b; affeccioun: direccioun 228 b; reson: seson 229 b; son: redempcioun 230, etc. No. 45 may be any one of the several attacks on the sins or a song of them, as in Ball. 354; I know none in Lydgate's metre. No. 46, The Prayer to bedward and at rising, rhymes mesurably: glotonye, f. 276 b; fantasies: vpryse 276 a; it is in short line stanzas of 4. No. 16 is highly interesting, but is crudest of all in its metre. Rhymes magnify: almighty 285; eucheson: reson: geson: seson 285; oonly: signify 286, etc.

to Lydgate by the scribe of the MS. Of the spurious pieces, not already noted, Nos. 22, 41, 42, 43 are not by Lydgate if any extant poem on these subjects be those intended by Stow.<sup>1</sup> No. 81, the *Epitaphium Ducis Gloucestrie*, in MS. Harley 2251, is certainly not by Lydgate. It is a very feeble thing indeed, written in his manner, but has no MS. support for Lydgate's name, or any accordance with a known poem of his.<sup>2</sup> Nos. 36, 37, 39 are only in Stow's MS. Addit. 29729, and are there attributed to Lydgate. They agree in style and subject with numerous other pieces of the monk, and are admitted into my list for want of negative evidence, though I do not feel entirely sure of them. Numbers 47-58 comprise my Pageant of Knowledge, Nos. 53-57 being ascribed to Lydgate in MS. Harley 2255, an excellent codex. There are thus 14 spurious pieces, and 14 duplicates in Stow's list. Elsewhere Stow assigns other poems to the monk. In his *Chronicle*, he tells of verses for pageants at the entry of Queen Margaret; these have not survived.

John Pits, 1619,<sup>3</sup> depended almost entirely upon Bale for his information. Nearly his whole article is stolen from Bale, and deserves no further notice. He adds two items at the end of Bale's list, *The Pilgrimage*, and *Quis dabit meo capiti*.<sup>4</sup>

Bishop Tanner's list in his *Bibliotheca*, pp. 489-493 (ed. 1748), consists chiefly of researches made upon Pits and Stow. To these he adds items from Laud 683, Fairfax 16, and Ashmole 59. But he does not bother to collate his references, as Bale did from his notes. The result is that items often appear under three or four heads. Moreover, whenever Tanner found other poems in a MS. containing poems cited by Pits or Stow, he added these. The result is a confusion which it is hardly worth while to clear up. But the greatest credit is due to Tanner for his references to MSS., which are uniformly accurate.

Tanner's list begins with Thebes, goes to Wikked Tong, Troy Book (under which the redaction of 1614 is noted), Mass; then follow—

<sup>1</sup> No. 22 may be a part of the *Letabundus*, 41 and 42 are extant as in short doggerel couplets in an Arundel MS.

<sup>2</sup> Stanza 6, alye: the; 9 dowarye: by: ny: I cry; etc. The poem is rather unmetrical.

<sup>3</sup> *Relationum Historicarum de Rebus Anglicis*, Tom. I, 1619, under the year 1440, pp. 632-33.

<sup>4</sup> *Lamentation of our Lady*, this may be the prose tract, which is probably spurious.

5. Queen of hevene.
6. *Dilectus meus.*
7. Ballade of Commendation.
8. *Stabat mater dolorosa.*
9. Queen of hevene (another MS.).
10. Prayer in Old Age.
11. Life of our Lady.
12. St. Edmund.
13. *Quia amore langueo.*

After these come the items of Pits, beginning with St. Fremund. At the Horse, Sheep and Goose he interjects Who says the Best, from MS. Laud 598, and Upon the Cross, from the same MS.

Then he appends Stow's list. At St. Anne's life, he interjects Lydgate's Invocation to St. Anne. At the Procession of Pageants (of Corpus Christi) he puts in a guess as to the "Coventry" plays (Hegge plays). After the Entry into London he adds *London Lickpeny* (quoting Stow, *London*, p. 234), the Flour of Curtesye (Thynne, 1532), and the following from Fairfax 16—

Prayer for King, Queen, and People.

*Chaunse of the dyse.*

*Complaint against hope.*

*Complaint d'Amour* (attributed to Chaucer by Prof. Skeat).

*Ragmanys roll.*

From the Lincoln MS. he notes St. Austin, and from Ashmole 59—

The sixth fable of Isope.

Consulo quisquis.

Horns away.

(Fall, I, 13.)

Friend at neode.

Holy meditation.

Mass ("Ye devout peple").

From Bodley 686, he took the *Tale of a Crow* (Maunciple's Tale by Chaucer), Kings, Stans Puer, Dietary, So as the Crabbe, Ram's Horn, Wikked Tong, St. Margaret, St. George, Fifteen Joys (here he notes the version II from the Titus MS.). He then catalogues Laud 683,<sup>1</sup> noting under Ten Saints, the Ashmole St. Denis.

<sup>1</sup> This MS., entirely devoted to Lydgate, will be catalogued below. A glance through my list will show what items appear in it.

The only omission from Laud is Fifteen Ooes. To these he adds some random pieces, *The Tale of the Lady Prioress and her three wooers*.<sup>1</sup> From Stow's *History* he quotes the verses of the pageants for Queen Margaret in 1445. These are *Ingredimini et replete terram, non amplius irascar super terram. Madam Grace, chancelor de Dieu. Five wise and five foolish virgins. Of St. Margaret. Of the heavenly Jerusalem. Of the general resurrection and judgement*.<sup>2</sup>

He adds *Cambridge*, with a reference to Fuller, *Eccl. Hist.*, I, 28. He then adds the "translations" from Pits,<sup>3</sup> and concludes with references to MSS. he has not seen, chiefly gathered from the *Cat. MSS. Angl. et Hib.*, Oxon., 1697.

Under *LYDGATE*, JOHANNES, he notes the Serpent of Division again from "A. Wood, MS. *Cat.*, IV, 46 (1559 print)."

Joseph Ritson followed Tanner in this sort of list, and considerably increased the confusion. He divided his list into printed and unprinted works. Professor Schick has corrected Ritson's list to a great extent, but in order to set the matter right once for all I must repeat his work with my additions.

In prints.—1. Troy. 2. Fall. 3. Dance of Mach. 4. Thebes. 5. Life of our Lady (8, 187). 6. *Lamentacyon of our lady*.<sup>4</sup> 7. St. Albion (249). 8. (*Part of 5 in*) *Pilgrimage of the soule*.<sup>5</sup> 9. Horse, sheep and goose. 10. Temple of Glas. 11. *Cato's Distichs* (54) (by Burgh). 12. *Court of Sapience* (51, 225). 13. Assembly of Gods (under wrong title). 14. Churl and Bird. 15. Kings. 16. Stans puer. 17. W. de Worde's Proverbs of Lydgate. 18. St. Austin. 19. Serpent of Division. 20. Flour of Courtesie. 21. *Chaucer's Ballade on Fortune*. 22. Consulo Quis (62, 84). 23. Doublenes. 24. *Balade warning men against deceitful women* (see below under

<sup>1</sup> Certainly not by him. It is a gay fabliau of the alliterative romance type, composed by some minstrel. The MS. ascription is of a late date. The humour is rough and high, the rhymes rude; there is nothing to justify this note of some modern reader, yet Halliwell printed it as Lydgate's, *Minor Poems*.

<sup>2</sup> None of these are extant, as I have said above.

<sup>3</sup> Under Troy Book he notes the Laud Troy Book.

<sup>4</sup> Printed by Wynkyn de Worde. Possibly an error for Quis dabit meo. This tract is in prose, and was recently printed by C. E. Tame, in E. E. Rel. Lit., Series I, as Lydgate's. There is no MS. evidence, and the piece seems to be of much later date than Lydgate's. The prose is quite beyond that of the Serpent of Division.

<sup>5</sup> A prose and verse rendering of Deguileville's second Pilgrimage. Not a rhyme-tag in the verse, and the -y : ye rule frequently broken. Ascribed (the verse part) to Hoccleve, who certainly wrote Metre VII, if not all.

Skeat). 25. Ballade in Com. of our ladie. 26. Lamentation of Mary Magdalene.<sup>1</sup> 27. Assemble of ladies.<sup>2</sup> 28. *A praise of women* (cf. Skeat, *Min. P.*, p. 26). 29. *Remedie of love*. 30. *Craft of lovers*. 31. Chaucer's *Gentillesse*. 32. Sayings of Dan John (Four things). 33. Testament (214). 34. Bycorne and Chicchefache. 35. *London Lyckpeny*.<sup>3</sup> 36. Secrees (from Ashmole's *Theatrum Chemicum*), see No. 52.

In MSS.—37. Arthur ( Fall, VIII, 24). 38. Round Table, *ibid.*, and *Siege of Jerusalem*.<sup>4</sup> 39. Guy of Warwick. 40. Fabula duor. Merc. 41. *Lady Prioress*. 42. *Childe of Bristow*.<sup>5</sup> 43. *Two priests of Wiltshire*.<sup>6</sup> 44. *Smith and his Dame*, + Fab. duor. Merc. + 6th proverb of Isope (45). 45. Isopes fabules (44). 46. Chaucer's *Mauunciple's Tale*. 47. Jak Hare. 48. *Piers of Fulham*.<sup>7</sup> 49. Order of Fools. 50. *Advice to an Old Man*.<sup>8</sup> 51. *Court of Sapience* (12, 225). 52. Secrees. 53. *De re militari* (144).<sup>9</sup> 54. *Cato's distichs* (11). 55. Dietary (61). 56. Pilgrimage. 57. Ballade to Her that Hath all Vertues. 58. Gentlewoman's Lament (110). 59. *Ragmanys roll*. 60. *Chaunse of the dyse*. 61. Dietary (55). 62. Consulo quisquis (22, 84). 63. Horns Away. 64. Semblables. 65. So as the Crabbe. 66. Rhyme without accord. 67. Haste. 68. Mydsomer Rose. 69. Measure. 70. Quis dabit. 71. Amor vincit omnia. 72. Amasias to Johas (Fall, II, 16). 73. Epistle to Sybille? (141), or perhaps Fall, II, 15. 74. So as the Crabbe (65). 75. New Year's Gift of an Eagle. 76. *Summum Sapientiae*.<sup>10</sup> 77. Seven Wise Counsels (part of Pageant of Knowledge). 78. *Long wil be water*.<sup>11</sup> 79. Complexiones (part of Pageant of Knowledge). 80. Who saith the best. 81. *Lak of Stedfastnesse* (Chaucer). 82. Four

<sup>1</sup> Recently edited for the E.E.T.S. There is no evidence whatever for Lydgate's authorship. <sup>2</sup> Printed in the Oxford Chaucer, VII.

<sup>3</sup> See below.

<sup>4</sup> In doggerel couplets, by Adam Davy (?).

<sup>5</sup> A poor piece of popular versification.

<sup>6</sup> See below.

<sup>7</sup> Printed in Hartshorne's *Ancient Metrical Tales*, from Tr. C. Camb. R. 3. 19.

<sup>8</sup> See below.

<sup>9</sup> See above.

<sup>10</sup> This is still attributed to Lydgate by Prof. Förster and Miss Hammond, because the writer happens to say that his author (his original) and he are both named John. But why not John Walton, John Capgrave, John Hardyng, John of Bury, Sir John Oldcastle? The writer has an incurable fancy for the word huge; in the first 14 stanzas I note huge Idilnesse, 3; huge comberance, 4; huge wittis, 8; huge impuissance, 10; huge Innocence, 11; huge ditees, 12; huge symplenesse, 14. The rhymes are totally against Lydgate's claim; contraire: mornyngly: folýe, 32; glórie: folýe, 70; remedy: folily, 41; delicacye: worldly, 44, etc. Lydgate never went quite so far as to speak of liquid liquor, st. 5, or lyneal lynes 8. The translation is wretched. Really Lydgate never coined such words as rethoryous 6, antiquous 8, or vertuhede 3. There is absolutely no evidence for Lydgate's claim in the original MSS.

<sup>11</sup> From Harley 2251. A short mis-metred thing.

things (see 32). 83. Friend in neode. 84. Consulo quisquis (22, 62). 85. *Complaint d'amour*.<sup>1</sup> 86. *Complaint against fortune*, by Chaucer. 87. *Complaint against Hope*. 88. *Ch. of the Dyce* (frag.). 89. Gloucester's Marriage. 90. St. Austin (No. 18). 91. Stans Puer (16). 92. *Praier to bedward*. 93. O thow povert (Fall, I, 18). 94. Wikked Tong. 95. Vertu. 96. Thoroughfare of Woo. 97. Tyed with a lyne. 98. *Rez Salamon (Dilectus meus)*. 99. Loke<sup>1</sup> in thy Merour. 100. They that no while endure. 101. Peace. 102. Holy Meditation. 103. Letabundus. 104. World is Variable. 105. Timor Mortis. 106. The Cok hath lowe shoon. 107. Measure is Treasure. 108. *Hood of Green*. 109. *Craft of Lovers* (30). 110. Gentlewoman's Lament (58). 111. Cambridge. 112. Reason and Sensualitie. 113. *Assembly of Gods* (13). 114. *Seven deadly Sinnes* (Stow's, 45). 115-119. Pageant of Knowledge (Stow's, 47-58). 120. That now is hay. 121. Wikked Tong (94). 122. *Amor vincit omnia* (71). 123. Nine props. of wine. 124. Measure (107). 125. Ram's Horn. 126. Fall (Stow, 63). 127. *Magnificence of the Church*. 128. Psalter. 129. Kalandre. 130. *Petigree of Emperors*. 131. Kings (15). 132. Fates of Princes. 133. Prayer for K. Q. and P. 134. Ballade on Coronation. 135. Pedigree. 136. New Y's Gift, Eagle (75). 137. Complaint for My Lady of Holland. 138. Letter to Gloucester. 139. Epitaph of Gl. 140. My Lady Dere. 141. Epistle to Sibille (73<sup>1</sup>). 142. *De vita hominis*. 143. *Proprietates rationum*. 144. *Vegetius* (53). 145. *Praeceptiones Gall. ling.*<sup>2</sup> 146-151. Mummings, Stow's, Nos. 87-90, 92, 93. 152-3. Procession of Corp. Chr. 153. King's Entry. 154. King's Entry. 155. *Gallaunt*. 156. Haste (67). 157. Horns Away (63). 158. Fall, II, 16 (72). 159. *Dantis opuscula*. 160. *Petrarchae quaedam*.<sup>2</sup> 161. Prayer in Old Age. 162. *Bird's Matins*. 163. Deus in nomine tuo. 164. *Hoc factum est a domino*.<sup>3</sup> 165. Benedic anima. 166. Misericordias domini. 167. De Profundis. 168. Te Deum. 169. Letabundus (part).<sup>4</sup> 170. Benedictus deus. 171. Letabundus, etc. (part).<sup>4</sup> (169). 172. God is my help. 173. *The high astrapotent auctor of all*.<sup>5</sup> 174. *Gaudite iusti*.<sup>6</sup> 175. *Neir a park*.<sup>7</sup> 176-179.

<sup>1</sup> Ascribed to Chaucer by Professor Skeat.    <sup>2</sup> For these see under Bale.

<sup>3</sup> This poem in Harley 2251, refers to the Battle of Roxburghe, when the Scots were defeated. Rhymes nyne : bene, st. 2; victory : flee. No MS. authority.

<sup>4</sup> Ritson was misled by rubrics in the course of the poem, which led him to think a new poem had begun. See 103.    <sup>5</sup> A doggerel poem from Harley 2251.

<sup>6</sup> A doggerel poem from Tr. Coll. Cam. R. 3. 21.

<sup>7</sup> Harley 2255. No authority.

Stow's *verses on Margaret's entry*. 180. *De coelorum gaudiis*. 181. Fifteen Joys, II. 182. Fifteen Joys, I (pt. II). 183. Queen of hevene. 184. *Stella celi*. 185. Image of our lady. 186. *Gloriosa dicta sunt*. 187. Life of our Lady (5, 8). 188. Surge mea sponsa.<sup>1</sup> 189. Ave jesse virgula. 190. Same. 191. Gaude virgo. 192. *Maria virgo assumpta est*.<sup>1</sup> 193. Val. to Her I love Best. 194. Ball. in Commendation (25). 195. *Rex Salamon* (98). 196. *Stabat mater*. 197. Glor. dicta sunt. 198. *Ave Maria*<sup>1</sup> (Harley version). 199. Magnificat (pt. of No. 5). 200. Quis dabit (70). 201. *Quia amore languet*. 202. *Joy blissid lady*.<sup>2</sup> 203. Ave regina celorum. 204. Regina celi letare. 205. Legend of Joos. 206. *Chaucer's A B C*. 207. *Jesu Crist kepe our lippes*.<sup>3</sup> 208. *Testamentum Christi* in the Vernon MS.). 209. Paternoster. 210. Verbum caro (pt. of Mass, No. 223). 211. Cristes passioun. 212. Pyte I. 213. Saying of the Nightingale (w. MS. of Nightingale). 214. Testament pt. V (33). 215. Child Jesus to his mother.<sup>4</sup> 216. Upon a Cros (228). 217. *Jesu thy sweetnes*. 218. Testament pt. I. 219. Prayer for K. Q. & P. (133). 220. *On Chr.'s passion*. 221. *Psalmi passionis*. 222. *Merita missae*.<sup>5</sup> 223. Mass. 224. Ibid. 225.

<sup>1</sup> From Harley 2251; belongs with *Dilectus meus*.

<sup>2</sup> Gaude flore, from Harley 372. Rhymes on hee: bee: see, st. 1; lesse: is: gladnesse, 3; Jesu: now, 6; amang: kan (!), 6. Very irregular metre.

<sup>3</sup> In Addit. 34360, and Harley 2251. No evidence for Lydgate's authorship.

<sup>4</sup> Three stanzas with refrain. From Harley 2251. Begins "My father above," etc. I have included this poem.

<sup>5</sup> Ascribed to Lydgate, because in MS. Titus A xxvi, which contains Fifteen Joys, II. That poem is, however, in a different hand from that of the scribe of the *Merita Missae*. The poem is printed in the Lay-Folks Mass-Book, pp. 148-154, E.E.T.S. 71, by Rev. Mr. Simmons. It is written in the rhyming short couplet. Rhymes not Lydgate's are fore: whare, 5; I: follye, 7; nemen: heuyn, 27; bone: dome, 28; belle: styllle, 47, etc. Another poem ascribed to Lydgate, and called by this editor *Virtutes Missarum* is printed in the same volume, pp. 367 ff. There is no evidence for this piece, which is cruder than the preceding, and begins—

"Lordyngis dygne and dere  
Lystyn and ȝe may here."

Lines 25-26 read—

"bis wytnessyt seynt austyn  
And ledgyt hem in latyn";

and the side-note, p. 368, and the index tell us "ledgyt" (alleged) is Lydgate! Therefore this is Lydgate's poem!

Mr. Simmons is the first to attribute the *Venus Mass* in MS. Fairfax 16 to Lydgate. This is one of those pieces of courtly love in which I can find no characteristics of Lydgate sufficient to justify his claim as author. Many phrases recall the monk, but it is all Chaucerian imitation. If this piece is admitted as Lydgate's, it must be on the strength of the prose extract, which abounds in phrases occurring in Lydgate's *Serpent of Division*. But I cannot satisfy myself that these phrases are peculiar to Lydgate.

*Court of Sap.* (12, 51). 226. *Criste qui lux es.* 227. *Fifteen Ooes.* 228. *Upon a Cros.* 229. *XV Tokens.* 230. *Pt. of 231.* 231. *Life of St. Anne.* 232. *Invocation to St. Anne.* 233. *St. Katherine.* 234. *St. Margaret.* 235. *St. Cecilia* (Chaucer). 236. *St. Sitha.* 237. *St. Barbara.* 238. *St. Ursula.* 239. *Prioresses Tale* (Chaucer). 240. *St. Erasmus.* 241. *Ten Saints.* 242. *St. Leonard.* 243. *St. Edmund.* 244. *Ibid., pt.* 245. *Ibid., pt.* 246. *Miracles of St. Edmund.* 247. *St. Edmund, pt. 3* (243). 248. *St. Alexes.* 249. *St. Albon* (7). 250. *St. Giles.* 251. *St. Denys.*

It will be seen that Ritson has had access to Harley 2251, and 2255; otherwise his list is no better than Tanner's. He has, moreover, fallen into the same error of setting down all items in a MS. as Lydgate's because one happens to be.

Sir Harris Nicolas, 1827, in his additions to Edw. Tyrrell's edition of *A Chronicle of London*, printed the following poems as Lydgate's: 1. *The Battle of Agincourt.* 2. *King's Entry.* 3. *On the Reconciliation, 1457.* 4. *Mumming at Bishopswood.* 5. *London Lickpenny.* 6. *Letter to Gloucester.* 7. *Horns Away.* 8. *Millers and Bakers.* Of these pieces, No. 3 can be dismissed at once as not written till eight years after Lydgate's death.

*The Battle of Agincourt* is a kind of *Little Gest* of Agincourt. It seems to contain the fragments of earlier half-popular ballads on the subject. It is written in the style of the street, with the rhyming equipment of a poor minstrel.<sup>1</sup> It is inconceivable that a poet capable of, and at work on, *Troy Book* should descend to this sort of thing to celebrate the greatest deed of the sovereign for whom he was writing.

*London Lickpenny* is extant in two forms, of which the poorer and later one is always printed. Miss Hammond in her parallel-text print in *Anglia*, xix, ? 400 f., shows that an eight-line version has been turned into a seven-line one, by simple omission of the fourth, fifth, or seventh line. Neither MS. antedates Stow's time, who owned the older version. Style and rhyme<sup>2</sup> are utterly at

<sup>1</sup> Stanza 2, rathe : have; Edward : swerd; 8, he : many; 36, Turvyle : bataile; shryne : benynge; 45, syng : benyng; 3, yonge : sende; 4, ende : kyng; 35, be : hyghe; 31, was : ges; 34, Barry : sparye; 28, aped : ride. The rhymes -ay, -e occur in practically every stanza. The refrain runs—

"Wot ye right well that thus it was,  
Gloria tibi trinitas."

The rhyme-tag verament occurs frequently.

<sup>2</sup> gonn : come, 10; chauncerie : me, 34; bye : why, 53; prime : dyno, 58; people : simple, 74; grete : spede, 86.



variance with Lydgate's practice, and it is impossible therefore to accept Stow's unsupported word with regard to this poem, though every friend of Lydgate, if there be such, will give it up regretfully. Lydgate once wrote a poem on this theme, *Amor Vincit Omnia*. Let any one read this poem and then ask himself whether on the word of a worthy collector a century later, he will believe that the same man wrote *London Lyckpeny*.<sup>1</sup>

J. O. Halliwell's edition of Lydgate's Minor Poems is too well known to need comment. I cite here only the spurious poems: 1. *Prohemy of a Marriage, or Advice to an Old Man, or December and July*. 2. *Wulfrike*. 3. *Monk of Paris*. 4. *Birds' Matins*. 5. *London Lickpeny*. 6. *Lady Prioress and her suitors*. 7. *For the better abyde*. 8. *Thank God for all*. 9. *Make Amendes*. 10. *Hood of Green*. Numbers 8 and 9 are in the Vernon MS. of about 1380, and so before Lydgate's time; No. 7. is the same sort of thing, a highly alliterative, forceful little homily in eight lines of four accents *ababbcbc*. There is no evidence for Lydgate's authorship; the poems occur in a MS. containing some of his poems; hence Halliwell's mistake. Numbers 5, 6, and 10 are already disposed of.

The *Prohemy* is a clever poem on the line of Mapes's poem against marriage, which was translated into English at this time, and was popular. The poem is much more in Hoccleve's style. I note the following points: A. The first lines of the poem, A philosoffre, a good clerk seculer, Had a frend that was somdel aged, etc. Now the poem was written after 1426, since it refers to the Dance of Machabre; and who but Hoccleve was a good clerk seculer, with an aged friend? Read his *Dialog*, and compare the styles.

B. Hoccleve's attacks on women were famous. His story of Jonathas is on the same theme.

C. Hoccleve was fond of talking about unsatisfactory marriage. See Dr. Furnivall's references.

D. He was fond of quoting from Chaucer. The *Wife of Bath* is one of his models (*Dialog*, 694 ff.).

But the rhymes are against his authorship, and equally against Lydgate's.<sup>2</sup> There is nothing upon which one can base a claim for

<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that Stow does not include this poem in his 1598 list.

<sup>2</sup> *remedye* : *angry* : *hardily*, p. 72; *gelosye* : *bodeye* : *pryvelye*, p. 33. In the first 4000 lines of the *Pilgremage*, written in 1426, there are no -y : -ye rhymes. On p. 29 of the *Prohemy*, *truste* : *poste*. The penultimate rhyme in -acioun is observed.

Lydgate in the style, which is colloquial, pithy, and humorous. Words like "pank," "buffard," "popholy," "roter," take us out of the monk's vocabulary. In the absence of any MS. evidence we must leave the poem anonymous.<sup>1</sup> There were certainly more poets at work in this period than we know about.

The other three poems have no MS. evidence. The *Birds' Matins* has bad rhymes—Inwardly : melodie; crie : triewly : glorifye; supervive : side. The other two are little exempla, very likely produced at Bury. The metre involves penultimate accentuation of rhyme-words in -oun,<sup>2</sup> and the lines generally are unmetrical and crude. The only rhyme-tag "we fynde and rede" is used three times in sixty lines.

Prof. Skeat, in his volume supplementary to the Oxford Chaucer, prints ten poems as Lydgate's. Of these, I see no good reason for accepting the *Ballade to My Soverain Lady*, the *Ballade, Warning Men*, etc., or the *Goodly Balade*. There is no evidence for Lydgate's authorship. The first was printed first by Thynne in 1532, and confused with Lydgate's *Ballade in Commendation*, merely because it happened to follow it in a MS. The second contains the rhyme géson : réson : tréson, which never occurs in poems of Lydgate for which we have the slightest external evidence.<sup>3</sup> The *Goodly Balade* might have been written by any one of the Chaucerian school, the poet of MS. Fairfax 16, for example. In his *Chaucer Canon*, Professor Skeat assigns a gem of Chaucerian verse, the *Ballade of Oft-desired Bliss*, to Lydgate, on similarly insufficient grounds.

Dr. J. H. Lange, in *Englische Studien*, 29, 397-405, proposes Lydgate as the author of Fragment B of the *Romaunt of the Rose*.<sup>4</sup> Dr. Lange labours under a delusion that if Chaucer did not write it, Lydgate must have written it. He tries to show that Lydgate knew Fragment B, but he does not prove any indebtedness whatever. He gives a long list of rhymes like Lydgate's, two of which the *er : ir* and *fortune : contune* are worth nothing. He notes

<sup>1</sup> J. H. Lange, *Eng. Stud.*, 30, 346, is for Lydgate's authorship.

<sup>2</sup> 1. 2. Right famyler in goode conversacyoun.

3. And both they were nygh on habitacioun.

1. 10. His rightes he had by goode deliberacioun.

1. 12. And as a triew cristen man here he made his ende,  
is too bad for Lydgate.

<sup>3</sup> And it also rhymes flye : naturally.

<sup>4</sup> See, however, Schick's earlier suggestion of the idea, *Temple of Glas*, p. lxi, note 2. Dr. Lange does not give Professor Schick the credit for the suggestion.

assonances in the poem, which he parallels elsewhere in Lydgate. But he fails to note that nowhere in Lydgate is there any such proportion of assonances, and he totally omits all bad rhymes for which no parallels exist. He also fails to notice the closer translation of the original than is usual with Lydgate.<sup>1</sup>

Lydgate, it should be added, mentions the *Rose* in the *Fall of Princes* as Chaucer's translation. Had he had a hand in it, there was nothing to prevent his saying so, in 1431, the date of the Prologue to the *Fall*.

It looks as though the *Court of Love* were to be foisted on to Lydgate's shoulders, if I guess correctly Dr. Lange's latest hints in the *Archiv*, 108, p. 104.

Dr. Marsh, in the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* for September, 1907, argues for Lydgate's authorship of the *Flower and the Leaf*. He has made a most exhaustive comparison of the themes in the poem, and finds it most like *Reason and Sensuallyte*. He has totally neglected the rhyme-tests, which throw the poem out at once.<sup>2</sup>

There are still a few dozen poems of the fifteenth century which, it is safe to predict, will be shortly heralded as Lydgate's.<sup>3</sup> I realize the uncertainty of all disputes on authorship, but my contention is still that in the absence of external evidence, of a contemporary kind, the closest resemblances in rhyme, metre and style must be shown before any poem can be admitted as genuine. Whenever these cannot be shown, the verdict must be against the claimant. And I beg to present the claims of the anonymous poets of the age, of whom I believe there were many, all loving Master Chaucer, and delightedly practising the writing of courtly poetry in his manner.

<sup>1</sup> In *Reason and Sensuallyte*, 142. 2 lines to 100 of the original.

In *Pilgrimage*, 157. 0 lines to 100 „ „

In *Fragment B*, 117. 5 lines to 100 „ „

<sup>2</sup> VI, No. 3, pp. 373 ff. Rhymes contrary to Lydgate's usage are common—*season* : *reason*, 562; *victory* : *mightily*, 517; *glory* : *hoolly*, 520; *melody* : *soothly*, 181; *chivalry* : *worthy*, 503, etc.

<sup>3</sup> The Practise "*De Lapide Philosophorum*," in B. M. Sloane 3708, ascribed to Lydgate, seems to me a seventeenth century forgery, and not worth discussion. I mention it here to forestall criticism.





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